National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XXII. NO. 20. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1861. WHOLE NO. 1,112.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, ON SATURDAY,

AT TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM,

BY THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

At its Office, No. 5 Beekman Street, New York,

AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

106 *North-Tenth Street, Philadelphia.*

Letters for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business affairs of the paper, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NEW YORK."

ADVERTISEMENTS, 10 cents per line each insertion.

Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

FREMONT AND THE PRESIDENT.

From The New York Express.

THE events of the day—among them the arrest of Col. (Hon.) F. P. Blair, M. C. (Rep.) from St. Louis, by Gen. Fremont, and the denunciation of the President, Lincoln, in his own State, by one of his leading organs, the Chicago *Tribune*, because of fidelity to the Constitution and law, and infidelity to Gen. Fremont—are all worthy of note. These events disclose the high-handed government of Fremont in Missouri, even upon his own party friends, and the contest that must, soon or later, break out between the Republicans, *alias* Abolitionists, who see in this war only the abolition of slavery—even if it forever rends the Union of the States—and the Republican conservatives, who make war, not to convert into a Hayti thirteen States of our Union, but to restore them to the government, the Constitution, and the Union. The lines are now being drawn in the Republican party, and, sooner or later, the sheep there must be parted from the goats. It is not at all probable that Gen. Fremont can long continue to be a Major-General in the Western Department. Apart from all incidental differences on the subject of slavery, there is that in him, as displayed in letters the *Express* has already copied from two Republican journals, and in his general extravagant and extraordinary administration of civil, military and financial functions, especially the latter, which demonstrate an incapacity to govern. Any day, therefore, we expect to hear him removed—as under his hands, things have been constantly going on from bad to worse in Missouri. Indeed, so it seems to us, the best and blessedest piece of news from that quarter would be the restoration of Gen. Harney, who, for some unknown reason, is kept in the back ground, as Gen. Wool was kept back for some months.

These and other great events going on in civil life, as well as in military life, naturally enough turn our attention to the predictions now published from the London *Times*—that our form of government is forever gone, and that in case of the restoration of the Union, a more vigorous form of government must necessarily take its place. There was printed in many of our journals, previous to the last Presidential election, a tombstone, in which was recorded of—

THE U. S. A.

TWENTY-FIVE MILLIONS OF WHITE PEOPLE LOST THEIR LIBERTIES IN THE PURSUIT OF A FANCIED LIBERTY FOR THE NEGRO.

The great complaint against the Fugitive Slave law enacted under the influences of Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Lewis Cass, Millard Fillmore, Stephen A. Douglas and others in 1850, in the exact form and symmetry of the George Washington act of 1797, was,

Its deprivation of the negro of the habeas corpus in place of his arrest.

But now, Fort Lafayette is full, and necessarily full of white men, beyond all reach of any *habeas corpus!*

Events now so fast and so rapidly progress, as naturally to lend color to the predictions of the London *Times*. If our government had been strong enough, in the beginning of Abolitionism and of Secessionism, both of them revolutionary and anti-social creeds, both utterly subversive of the existing form of government—the murderers of United States Marshals, North, and the concoctors of treason, South, even in their incipient conspiracies, would have been arrested, tried, condemned and incarcerated. *No government can ever suffer a conspiracy to organize in its bosom to destroy it. No press can be permitted to exist, when subverting social order.* Hence Revolutionary Abolitionism and Secessionism, at the very start, should have been locked up. But all we can do now, is to try to save the wrecks of the government, and from these wrecks to reconstruct that government. The President Lincoln we notice is, we see, now coming out [illegible] stands forth now prominently doing all he can to reconstruct that government. True, he yet fails to comprehend the magnitude of the war, and yet fails to demand of the willing people enough of men—but he does not fail to comprehend the position of the true loyal Union men in Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee and North Carolina, and in his letter to Gen. Fremont, he embodies that comprehension. It remains to be seen now, whether he is firm and true enough, with the will of a Jackson, to stand, immovable and unchangeable, against the fire upon him from the abolition press, North, and the Chicago press, in his own State. Between his letter to Fremont and Fremont's Proclamation, is the whole zest of the great controversy between the Constitutionalists of this country, and the Radicals and Destructionists. If the Radicals and Destructionists have their way, the London *Times* is right, and our Constitutional form of government is forever gone—and with it every possibility of reconstructing the Union of these States. We should fight long, the one section with the other, under Radical rule, it is true—make peace when exhausted—and renew the war the moment either section recovered its strength. But in the end mere military despotisms would necessarily supersede the Constitution and government of the United States, and thus convert another *Respublica* into an *Empire*—a Rome of the Consuls and the Tribunes into a Rome of the Augustus Cæsars and Imperators. Happily, fortunately, heaven blesses us as yet, unexpectedly to some of us—in a Chief Magistrate—(an IMPERATOR) true, true to the Constitution and the laws; and as long as he is thus true, all such predictions as those of the London *Times* may be set down as maledictions, rather than as foresight, or prescience of our future destiny.

INCENDIARY PARSONS.

From Bennett's Herald.

THE discourse delivered by Dr. Cheever, at the Church of the Puritans, on Sunday last, is exciting a great deal of indignant commentary. It is asked whether the government, which is compelled for its own safety to oppose limits to the abuse of the right of free discussion to the press, will tolerate unbounded license in the pulpit.

In no sense of the word could the discourse to which we refer be considered a sermon. It was from beginning to end a political tirade, and that of the most violent and inflammatory kind. It had not even a moral bearing in the character of its facts. Replete with falsehoods and misrepresentations, it is doubly dangerous from its *quasi* religious complexion and unscrupulous perversion of the truth.

The preacher told his hearers that the reason the sympathies of Great Britain were not enlisted on the side of the North was because the latter was warring for the defence of her material interests, and not for the abolition of slavery; were she to proclaim unconditional emancipation, England would be cordially with her. This is not the fact; it is very far, even, from a semblance of truth. For the last thirty years England has been endeavoring to stir up the elements of internal strife in this country, under the cloak of a pseudo-philanthropy. Her concern for the condition of the slave was merely a hypocritical pretext to advance the political object which she had in view—namely, the division of the American confederation. The proof that this was so is to be found in her conduct on the breaking out of the rebellion. The news of that event changed in an instant all her pretended sympathy with the negro and arrayed it on the side of the slave-owner. It sufficed that her cotton supply was endangered at once to convert her from the creed which she had for years been so loudly professing to a covert, but not the less cordial, support of the new slave empire founded by Jeff. Davis and his associates. Of a similar untruthful character are the other assertions made by the reverend gentleman. "Slavery," he says, "is held to be right in those who are faithful in their allegiance, and only wrong on the part of those in rebellion." Nothing can be more grossly false than this statement. Philanthropical considerations have not been allowed to exercise the least weight in the decision of the questions arising out of the disposal of slave property by the government. They have been decided exclusively on the constitutional and legal principles involved; and the recent action of the President in modifying the Fremont proclamation, although it did not outstep those principles, is sufficient evidence that the Administration is determined to guard against any misconstruction of their policy in this regard. After the utterance of such sentiments the transition to broad treason was of course easy. "The military proclamation of the Secretary of War," added the preacher, "is a military usurpation without the pretence or the form of military necessity."

Now we would put it to the authorities whether there is anything in the language that has been used by the secessionist editors who have been sent to prison which surpasses the above in its unfair perversion of the acts of the government and in its general violence? Are such sentiments the less dangerous because they are uttered in a church and by a malcontent in canonical garb? It must not be forgotten that we are in the midst of a tremendous rebellion, and that if we do not put it down it will put us down. To deal leniently with reverend incendiaries like Cheever and Beecher at such a time is to imperil our own safety. Away, then, with all false delicacy in the treatment of those who, to gratify their fanatical longings, would destroy the government. As a beginning, let the mad priest of the Puritans be sent to keep company at Fort Lafayette with that rival fire-brand of sedition, the Abbe McMaster. * * * The Abbe will have good society in the fort—some staunch Catholics and educated men. But the company will not be complete till it is joined by Beecher, Cheever, and half a dozen more of the shining lights of Puritanism, who will have plenty of time for discussion, and can enter into an "irrepressible conflict" with the Abbe upon "the errors of Popery" and the false doctrine, heresy and schism of the Protestant Churches. Freedom of speech will be allowed within the walls of the fort, where it can do no mischief. We would suggest that Wendell Phillips, Garrison, Tappan and Jay should be added to the list of illustrious inmates of the fort, in order that they may enter into mortal combat with the pro-slavery prisoners, and that both factions may eat each other up, like the Kilkenny cats. * * * The course of the President has knocked abolitionism on the head, but it has saved the country and prevented the war from degenerating into Mexican anarchy. If the ideas of the anti-slavery fanatics were adopted the war would be interminable. Two-thirds of the people of the Southern States are to-day sound Unionists, and would so declare themselves if they could. But the policy recommended by *The Tribune* and the other abolition sheets would totally alienate the hearts of those men, and make them as deadly enemies as the most rabid secessionists. In the North, too, it would paralyze the arm of the government, and deprive the war of that general and enthusiastic support which is essential to its success.

It is as important, therefore, for the government to put a stop to the rebellious course of the Abolitionists as to seize secession sympathizers. They are both equally the enemies of the Administration. Not only ought the abolition presses to be squelched, and their editors sent to some fortress, but the conventicles of the abolition demagogues bearing the title of "reverend" ought to be closed, and the incendiaries themselves handed over to the tender mercies of the Southern rebels, in exchange for some of the valuable prisoners of war now incarcerated in Castle Pinckney, in the harbor of Charleston.

THE REV. DR. CHEEVER "AT HOME"—AN ABOLITION FESTIVAL.

From Bennett's Herald.

THE Rev. Dr. Cheever, having returned from his Church begging and abolition preaching tour in England, was warmly welcomed on Thursday evening last, at an abolition love feast at the residence of the Rev. S. R. Davis, 18 East Twenty-eighth street. "The parlors were hung with portraits and mottoes suitable to the occasion." The affair, indeed, was quite a brilliant abolition demonstration in its pictorial and mechanical arrangements, and likewise in its fervent abolition prayers and speeches. Some of the choice emancipation agitators who figured in the late seditious "Liberty and Union meeting" at the Astor House were present. The inspiring theme of this jubilee over Dr. Cheever was, of course, our Southern institution of slavery, and "the duty of immediate and entire emancipation"; and the great feature of the evening was, of course, the speech of the immaculate Cheever himself; and our readers may judge of the staple of his discourse from this single passage: "If the claims of freedom, justice, humanity—the claims of the enslaved—are not made the subject of this war, then there is, indeed, no prophet's ken to know what will be down in history upon this country—infamy, infamy."

The Rev. Dr. Tyng, next in order, harped upon the same string, to this effect: "We shall never take one successful step until we take the first righteous step" (the abolition of slavery). "That we shall ever come out of this warfare at the door through which we went in is, in my judgment, impossible. We cannot come out but with a country free or a country overcome. And I say for myself, much as I loved, in my old Federal education, the Union, I would rather go back and live upon the shores of the Merrimack, and in the single State of Massachusetts, than I would form a Union again with the South, if the cancer of slavery is to be in its bosom." In fact, the reverend gentleman declared that he would rather see "the utter extinction of the whole Confederacy," and resolved into its elements, than gain the glory of a great majestic people at the sacrifice of a great principle—the principle of emancipation.

We select these specimen bricks of this abolition love feast from the copious report of *The Tribune*, whose sympathies and labors are devoted to the same object. We denounce the whole affair and all its affiliations as demoralizing, seditious and treasonable; for if it be treason to "give aid and comfort to the enemy" in this war, it is treason to be laboring to sow the seeds of discord, and to stir up our abolition fanatics against the Administration charged with the great responsibility of saving our government from a violent overthrow. We call the attention of the government to these seditious agitators of abolition. In seeking to divide our loyal people, to distract our counsels and to embarrass the Administration, they are giving "aid and comfort to the enemy," and hence we contend that these abolition disorganizers deserve no less the restraints of Fort Lafayette than the secession emissaries, agents and colaborers of Jefferson Davis and his rebel confederates.

THE ADMINISTRATION AND SLAVERY.—Caleb B. Smith, Secretary of the Interior, in his speech a few weeks since, at Providence, R. I., stated the position of the Administration in relation to slavery and the war, in the following clear and unmistakable terms:

"I have known the President long and well. It has been my fortune to be selected as one of his constitutional advisers. I have had the honor of being connected with this Administration since its commencement, and I tell you to-night that you cannot find in South Carolina a man more anxious, religiously and scrupulously, to observe all the features of the Constitution relating to slavery, than Abraham Lincoln. Had the people of the South been willing to wait and see whether he would regard that oath which in the presence of the assembled nation he had taken, they would have found that no Administration ever organized in this country would have more conscientiously regarded and protected the rights of the South than this Administration would have done. I know that I speak the sentiments of the President and his advisers—of those who have controlled the Administration."

SQUIRMING OF ABOLITIONISTS.—The penny *Sun*, of New York, now in the hands of an Abolition clique, denounces the President's disapproval of Gen. Fremont's emancipation proclamation as disclosing "the moral inconsistency and weakness of the President in a stronger light than has been supposed or represented." This Abolition befogged *Sun*, however, passed its meridian long ago, and, from its present appearances, it will soon set under an eclipse. If they feel called upon to denounce Mr. Lincoln to-day as guilty of "moral inconsistency and weakness," and as a "temporizing President" "terrified into an amazing committal" to the enemies of the Union, it is possible that to-morrow these Abolition disorganizers of the *Sun* may boldly take the high road to Fort Lafayette.—*Herald.*

Selections.

THY WILL BE DONE!

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

We see not, know not; all our way
Is night: with Thee alone is day.
From out the torrent's troubled drift,
Above the storm our prayer we lift,
Thy will be done!

The flesh may fail, the heart may faint,
But who are we to make complaint,
Or dare to plead in times like these
The weakness of our love of ease?
Thy will be done!

We take with solemn thankfulness
Our burden up, nor ask it less,
And count it joy that even we
May suffer, serve, or wait for Thee,
Whose will be done!

Though dim as yet in tint and line,
We trace Thy picture's wise design,
And thank Thee that our age supplies
The dark relief of sacrifice.
Thy will be done!

And if, in our unworthiness,
Thy sacrificial wine we press,
If from Thy ordeal's heated bars
Our feet are seamed with crimson scars,
Thy will be done!

If, for the age to come, this hour
Of trial hath vicarious power,
And, blest by Thee, our present pain
Be Liberty's eternal gain,
Thy will be done!

Strike, Thou, the Master, we Thy keys,
The anthem of the destinies!
The minor of Thy loftier strain
Our hearts shall breathe the old refrain,
Thy will be done!

—*Independent.*

THE SLAVES OF REBELS.

From The Tribune.

BEFORE the breaking out of the great pro-slavery rebellion, its authors and engineers had developed in conversation their reliance on slavery to carry them safely through the ordeal which they invited. They counted, from the start, upon the adhesion of all who were hearty in their devotion to slavery. "We can put 400,000 men into the field," said one of the foremost of them, "without subtracting materially from the force employed in our agricultural industry. Behind these 400,000 white combatants stand 4,000,000 black slaves, nearly all producers of wealth, who will be ploughing, tilling, harvesting, while our chivalry are fighting. We shall thus continually repair the ravage and waste of war. Individuals must suffer; but our section, being so preponderantly agricultural, can carry on the war throughout ten or fifteen years, and come out of it richer and more essentially independent than it now is. What have we to fear?"

And if the slaves are to remain docile and obedient to their masters, neither seeking nor desiring liberty, the calculation was probably well grounded. Hitherto, the slaves on the Southern plantations have been as truly the base of the rebels' military operations as the works at Manasssas Junction were the bases of the rebel operations at Bull Run. Slavery fomented the rebellion, made it, and has ever sustained it. But for slavery, no regiment would have been mustered, no cannon loaded, to resist the authority of the United States between the Susquehanna and the Rio Grande in the year 1861. Nobody pretends that the rebels have any grievance, or supposes they have, apart from the subject of slavery, which is just as much the groundwork of this rebellion as whiskey was that of Western Pennsylvania during the administration of Gen. Washington.

Congress has enacted that slaves employed in rebel camps and in rebel fortifications shall be forfeited by their owners. No one can reasonably dispute the justice of this act. The Federal government cannot recognize and uphold the ownership of one man by another when the pretended owner is a rebel who is employing his alleged slave in active furtherance of the great rebellion. But suppose that, instead of sending them into camp, the master employs his chattel in growing the grain by which the rebel army is fed, or the cotton, rice, tobacco, and sugar, which was to be pledged or sold to the rebel government as the basis of its loan, is the slave any less a "contraband," any less actively and effectively engaged in upholding and promoting the rebellion, than if he were employed in constructing earthworks below New Orleans, or grooming Gen. Beauregard's horse at Fairfax Court House? Surely not.

The questions here stated are eminently practical. They ignore all considerations of philanthropy or natural justice. They do not concern what may be due to the slave, but what is due to the country. And we say that it will be found exceedingly difficult to put down the slaveholders' rebellion with one hand and uphold their slavery with the other. "Why did you bayonet that dog?" angrily asked an officer of an Irish soldier who had pinned to the ground a savage mastiff who attacked him; "why not strike him with the butt of your gun, instead?" "And so I wud, plase your honor," replied Pat, "if the baste had run at me with his tail." The eternal fitness of things is not to be safely disregarded in a perilous emergency.

We are not censuring the course which the President has seen fit to take with regard to Gen. Fremont and his energetic proclamation. In view of the critical condition of Kentucky and of Maryland, the President has, doubtless, done what appeared to him not only expedient, but urgently necessary. We have no desire to precipitate the march of events, bearing ever in mind that the Declaration of Independence, which was timely and proper in 1776, would have been a stumbling-block and a source of weakness and distraction two years earlier. It is our conviction, however, that the nation cannot always stand meekly parrying the deadly thrusts of the Slave Power—it will at last be compelled to return them in the very temper in which they are delivered. Slavery distinctly says to the Union, "Your life or mine!" and will have to be answered in the same spirit, if her assaults are to be successfully resisted. Had this been distinctly made known to the planters at the outset, we believe they would have put down the briefless lawyers, discarded overseers, bankrupt traders, and miscellaneous ne'er-do-weels who fomented and incited the rebellion; were it clearly understood by them now, we suspect that they would call a parley and attempt to settle our differences by negotiation. Never, until the fire-eaters comprehend that they put very much at risk by persisting in their rebellion, will they be likely to give it up.

* * * * * * *

Another question, however, of hardly less importance, is raised by the President's order. Martial law, so long as it exists, and when proclaimed by sufficient authority, is the supreme law. Gen. Fremont having proclaimed it in the district over which he held military rule, was it not of right the law so long as it existed? Does the President's order to rescind it in a given case undo its operation while it was the rule? Were persons, held as slaves by rebels, emancipated by the proclamation of Gen. Fremont of August 31? and was the proclamation, so far as it relates to them, in force till rescinded by the order of the President dated September 11? Has the order a retrospective as well as a prospective action? Does it render inoperative the martial law, so far as slaves are concerned, from the 31st of August to the 11th of September, and restore to bondage those who have been emancipated by the proclamation of the Commanding-General? Has the President the power to reduce a people to slavery whose freedom was given them by a power perfectly legitimate so long as it lasted? It is very clear that under the order, slaves cannot now, or until the promulgation of some new decree, be freed in Missouri, except in accordance with the Act of Confiscation. But the proclamation, by authority of martial law, went beyond the act, and emancipated the slaves of all rebels. Was the proclamation in force or not from the 31st of August till the 11th of September, and can those who took the benefit of it, or who can be shown to have been the property of rebels during that period, be legally held as slaves?

These questions are grave ones, and may have important consequences. Suppose the President, by virtue of his power of Commander-in-Chief, had revoked altogether Gen. Fremont's proclamation. If, in the meantime, before the order of revocation was promulgated, Gen. Fremont, or his Provost Marshal, had had a rebel shot by martial law, or, through any of his officers, had confiscated rebel property in merchandise or money, are they liable to a criminal or civil prosecution for such action? Or is the plea that martial law had been proclaimed by legitimate authority, sufficient justification? Do not the cases proceed *pari passu*, and whatever is lawful in the one case become equally lawful in the other? If persons held to service, but emancipated by the proclamation of Gen. Fremont, are restored to slavery by the President's order, then the same principle must apply to other property. How far is it safe to establish such a precedent in regard to martial law? If it would be good for twelve days it would be equally good for twelve months, and it is impossible to say how serious a complication might not arise in such a conflict of authority. It is to be presumed, however, that the subject was carefully considered in all its bearings, and the questions all answered by the understanding that martial law and all its consequences, as proclaimed by Gen. Fremont, have full force from August 31 to September 11.

The government cannot be oblivious to the difficulties that surround this question as regards the slaves themselves. It will be a mistake to underrate their intelligence, or to tempt them to excesses by any vacillating policy. It is by no means improbable that the government will have to take under its protecting care, and reduce to habits of industry and good behavior, large numbers emancipated by the Act of Confiscation. This number may be much larger than is now apprehended. As the law now stands the bribe of emancipation is, curiously enough, offered to all those who will take up arms against us, or, in any way, aid and abet rebellion. A slave has only to persuade his master to permit him to dig in a trench or follow a camp, in any menial service, under pretence of the love of massa, and he becomes, *ipso facto*, free; while the slave who remains at home and is compelled by circumstances, or contrives to avoid giving aid to the rebellion, is to be continued a slave. It is a premium on insurrection; a reward for aiding our enemies; a direct incentive to do us harm, that we may do them good; an argument for pushing rebellion to extremities, the force of which will not be lost upon slaves who, they will believe, are, in any event, to be the gainers. The fact will be pointed at in history as a curious evidence of our national forgetfulness of the fact that a black man is a sentient being. If emancipation is a boon at all, it would seem that it should have been offered to those who do not, rather than those who do, aid and abet the insurrection. It may be that Gen. Fremont's method of dealing with the question will be found, after all, the wiser, and that both loyalists and rebels will be bound most readily to obedience by being taught that the only tenure by which they hold their property is a peaceful return to their allegiance to the Federal Union.

A GRAVE MISTAKE.

From The Independent.

THE daily newspapers of Monday gave to the public a letter from the President to Major-General Fremont, which will be found in another column. We cannot deny that it grieves us to see the name of Abraham Lincoln subscribed to such a document. The retreat from Bull Run was hardly a greater disaster to the cause of the Union—could not be more encouraging to the enemy or more likely to divide and paralyze the loyal supporters of the government—than is that ill-timed and ill-advised rescript.

Attempts have been made, with the best intentions, to cover up what we are constrained to call the great mistake of the President. It is represented that there really was some collision or disagreement between the act of Congress, "to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes," and the proclamation of Gen. Fremont, establishing martial law throughout the territory occupied by the forces under his command in the State of Missouri. It is represented that Gen. Fremont had assumed a responsibility which did not belong to him, and had undertaken to conduct the war on principles different from those which Congress and the President had sanctioned. We cannot see that those representations are correct. We are reluctant to make the admission; yet in our serious judgment, the President's order that so much of Gen. Fremont's proclamation as relates to the confiscation of property and the liberation of slaves "be so modified, held, and construed as to conform with and not to transcend the provisions on the same subject contained in the act of Congress"—is a very sad and dangerous mistake.

We are far from maintaining that the Federal government ought *now* to proclaim a general emancipation of the slaves. Very likely the time will come (and it may come speedily) when such a proclamation in regard to some or all of the now seceded States will be a manifest necessity. We have been and are quite willing to wait for that necessity, in the full confidence that when it come the proper authorities, civil and military, will see it and conform to it. Meanwhile, let the question be considered among the people, and be freely discussed on all sides. But let it be understood that Gen. Fremont's proclamation did not contemplate a general emancipation nor anything of the sort, even in the State of Missouri. No loyal citizen, no secessionist, not in arms against the country—was to be disturbed in the possession of his slaves. Nothing was proposed that could be interpreted as tending toward the abolition of slavery in that State. What occasion had the President or anybody else to regard that proclamation as initiating a different policy from that which has been announced as the policy of the government?

The act of Congress, "to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes," is not an act to prescribe the duties or to limit the powers of a military commander in the presence of the enemy. It gives no authority whatever to any military commander, and cannot be executed by military power. It is not made for a special emergency in any particular time or place. It is to have a permanent position in the statute-book that it may be used by the civil power—by judges and marshals—in all future insurrections as well as in that which is now to be suppressed. It does not purport to provide for the punishment of traitors, but only for seizing and appropriating to public uses all property employed or intended to be employed in any insurrectionary attempt against the United States; and the emancipation of slaves so employed is only an incident resulting from the constitutional incapacity of the Federal government to sell slaves or to hold them as property.

Gen. Fremont's proclamation is, from first to last, an act of military power. All its prohibitions are to be enforced, all its threats are to be executed, by military tribunals and military functionaries. It is for a particular locality—the State of Missouri, and for a particular occasion—the pendency of the present anarchy in that State. Its design is to suppress the rebellion there by sharp and speedy methods. It provides for the military punishment of traitors within a certain district. It warns traitors that, if found in arms within a certain line, they will be instantly shot. It warns traitors throughout the State of Missouri—all who take up arms against the United States, or are proved to be accomplices of the armed insurrection there against both the State and the Union, that they shall be stripped of all their property, not excepting that which they value as most sacred—their property in their slaves; and that this shall be done not by the dilatory and doubtful processes of civil justice, but by the short, sharp method of martial law. The proclamation makes no allusion whatever to the act of Congress. Any reference of that sort would have been a mere impertinence.

But now the President interferes to prohibit by his express command the vigorous prosecution of the war. He says, in effect, to all the traitors in Missouri, "I stand between you and Gen. Fremont. Go on with your treason; the General may mow you down in battle, and may shoot you one by one without judge or jury, if you are caught armed within his lines; but you may be sure that in any event, your property, not excepting your ownership of your fellow-men, shall be protected against military seizure by the government against which you are in rebellion." Why might not the President, just as pertinently, have forbidden the General to fire anything heavier than buckshot in battle with the enemy?

Fremont's proclamation, according to this order from the President, is to be "so modified, held, and construed," in the clauses relating to the property of armed rebels, "as to conform with and not transcend the provisions on the same subject in the act of Congress;" that is, no rebel taken in arms shall lose any of his property but by sentence of a civil court executed by a civil officer. Or, if it be assumed as the President's intention to permit the act of Congress to be executed by the military power in Missouri, what does that permission avail as a means of prosecuting the war? If Gen. Fremont can seize the miscreants who charred the timbers of that railroad bridge, he may shoot them; but of their property he can seize only the identical matches with which the incendiaries did their work—or, perhaps, on a liberal construction, the remainder of the box! If they employed a negro in the work, then that particular negro (the fact being proved) may go free; but all the rest of their slaves, though there be a thousand, must pass to their heirs-at-law, who, but for that, might be unable to prosecute the rebellion.

In our judgment, this is both foolish and dangerous. It would almost seem that the Administration, and the President at the head of it, has not yet learned that the rebellion we have to deal with is a daring, crafty, and deadly rebellion, which hesitates at nothing, which will strike the most dangerous blows it can wherever it finds a chance, and which means to destroy and break in pieces this Republic; and that the way to put down this rebellion is not by soothing and carefully forestalling the anxieties of rebels, and taking pains to secure to them by executive interference their fugitive negroes, not by restraining and ordering backward a generous leader, who more perhaps than any other has called out the real enthusiasm of the nation, but it is by striking back, with utmost promptness and utmost force, at the enemy's exposed and vulnerable points; it is by compelling men to recognize the fact that if they join themselves to the rebellion they sacrifice all the protection of the law for whose overthrow they conspire, they strip themselves of property, as well as put at hazard their lives. If the government at Washington has not yet learned this, and is bent on first securing the rebels from any risk of losing their slaves, and only afterward putting down the rebellion, then all we have to say is that the nation is very far in advance of its leaders, and that we have probably more disasters still to suffer as the price of their tardy and costly education.

THE WAY TO DO IT.

SLAVEHOLDING and free labor, as we all now see and feel, cannot coexist together as the joint basis of a common society and a united government. It therefore only remains for us to complete the work which our fathers left unfinished, and in completing it, to thank God that he has given us the strength and the grace to do that of which our grandfathers and fathers, memorable and great men as they were, did not prove capable or worthy. Into that Canaan which they only saw afar with the eyes of faith from the top of Pisgah it is for us to enter, not, however, without wars and fightings.

How shall matters be so arranged as to make the triumph of free labor and republican ideas complete, and to prevent for ever the recurrence of any similar struggle?

To answer this question does not seem to be very difficult. The first fruit of the triumph of our arms must be the total and immediate abolition of slaveholding. The great body of the slaveholders, from the active, open, and leading part they have taken in the present revolt, have made themselves just subjects of confiscation, and have totally forfeited any right or pretense of right they might have had to their slave property under the Constitution against which they have risen in arms. As to such slaveholders as may be able to show that they have been loyal throughout, and have given no aid or encouragement to the revolt, they might be justly entitled to a pecuniary indemnity for the loss of their slaves.

But it would not be their slaves alone which the slaveholders would forfeit as the penalty of their rebellion. By the same rule, they would forfeit all their lands also. These lands ought to be divided into two portions: one to be reserved as a fund for paying the debts to Northern manufacturers and merchants out of which the rebels have attempted to cheat them; the other, and far the larger portion, to be distributed among our five hundred thousand volunteers as bounty lands, in hundred-acre lots, and on the condition of settlement and cultivation.

Let no one cry out that this is a scheme of general confiscation against the people of the South. It would fall extensively on the principal and leading rebels, and would leave that great mass of the Southern people who cultivate their own lands with their own hands not only untouched, but retrieved from the overwhelming blight of supercilious neighbors, and, as we shall now show, vastly improved in their condition, both social and pecuniary.

It has been made a great objection, and a very plausible one, too, to the abolition of slavery, that it would throw the entire industry of the slave States into confusion, owing to the disinclination and even the moral incapacity of the slaveholders to assume the functions of employers of hired labor, and the disinclination of the slaves to work for their late masters. By the plan which we propose all this difficulty would be got rid of. The five hundred thousand volunteer settlers would understand perfectly the management of hired laborers. They would set the negroes an example of industry and skill by themselves heading the row. They would take the negroes as apprentices, and would soon instruct them in a hundred kinds of handicraft labor now unknown at the South. They would inspire, encourage, and lead on the great body of native poor whites by their example, and [illegible] which the general emancipation would afford them of employing hired negro labor, would have a door to wealth opened which is now totally closed against them.

It is not easy to exaggerate the blessed results which must follow this substitution of free for forced labor, and this transfer from the North to the South of half-a-million of intelligent farmers and mechanics. In ten years the productions of the South would be doubled, nay, quadrupled. The Northern system of free schools would follow in the wake of free labor. This transfer of population would bring about a unity of sentiment and feeling hitherto unknown. The whole South, under this influence, would undergo the same civilizing process which, by means of a similar infusion of Northern settlers, has been accomplished in Southern Ohio, Southern Indiana, and Southern Illinois, originally chiefly settled by immigrants from the slave States.

It is hardly necessary to add that, with these five hundred thousand volunteers encamped in the South, and backed by the great body of the whites and all the emancipated negroes, the idea of new slaveholders' insurrections would be quite out of the question.—*Richard Hildreth, in The Independent.*

WESTERN FEELING AND OPINION.

ST. LOUIS, Monday, Sept. 16, 1861.

THE President's letter to Gen. Fremont, disapproving his policy of declaring the slaves of active rebels free men, first reached him yesterday, through the newspapers. Some days ago, the Administration desired Gen. Fremont to modify the terms of his proclamation in this particular; but he declined to do so without an express order from the President. That order, it seems, has now been given.

It excites great surprise here. Mr. Lincoln and his advisers may not yet be aware of the fact; but there is war in Missouri. A desperate, unscrupulous, bloodthirsty foe is overrunning the State, driving out Union men and stealing their property wherever it has the power, torturing prisoners, as in the case of Hecker's men, whose tongues were actually cut out, assassinating old citizens in their own houses, firing into railroad cars and steamboats, as we have witnessed all over the State, cutting bridges, and murdering and wounding a hundred innocent persons at once, as at the massacre on the Little Platte River. In such a condition of affairs, Gen. Fremont's policy was *simply a military necessity.* It was the most effective blow yet struck at the rebels. It was an era sure to come, sooner or later, in the progress of the war; and in Missouri, at least, the times were ripe for it.

But even rebellion, it seems, cannot destroy the sacredness of slavery. The proclamation is countermanded at Washington. The reason given for it is, that it imperiled the Union cause in Kentucky! It might have hurt somebody's feelings; it might have turned the scale of a loyalty, so doubtful that it was trembling in the balance! The government to-day is powerless to protect Union men over half the State of Missouri; and its solicitude to save the slaves of rebels, fighting against it, from emancipation, is, to say the least, remarkable. It is too late, however, as regards two negroes lately belonging to Thomas L. Snead, a satellite of Claib. Jackson, who is serving in the rebel army, for they have received deeds of manumission from Gen. Fremont, and left the State this morning. One of them, named Frank Lewis, is an intelligent young mulatto, with some education, and has gone to Massachusetts to commence the world anew on his own account.—*Tribune.*

From The Chicago Tribune.

The feeling in this city among all persons, of all classes and creeds, upon reading the President's order countermanding Gen. Fremont's proclamation, was one of blank astonishment and dismay. No Sunday in our recollection has been so broken by general indignation and rage. The expression was a common one among Democrats and Republicans that Bull Run was not a circumstance, as compared with this deplorable mistake. The news of the retreat of our army from Stone Bridge never produced half the chagrin and despondency here occasioned by the retreat of the Administration from the strong and righteous ground taken by the fearless Fremont. It was felt that the penalty of rebellion had been removed, and that the war now was merely a scheme for mutual assassination on a large scale. The opinion was universal that a public meeting must be held to give force to the convictions of the people, and to petition the government, in both legislative and executive branches, to adopt Gen. Fremont's policy.

Let no one despair of the Republic. Now is the time, if ever, when the country has need of the courage of all her sons. Let each man remember that, if we fail now, we fail forever—that, if we lose heart now, we lose the country for all time. In a few weeks Congress will meet in regular session, and if the Administration does not sooner retrace its fatal step, the representatives of the people will enact Fremont's policy into a law. To this end let the masses, who furnish the muscle and money for the war, direct all their efforts. Every daily paper in Chicago—*Times, Post, Journal* and *Tribune*—has committed itself to Fremont's plan with regard to the slaves of rebels. Every journal of the North, whose opinion is of any consequence, has pronounced in favor of that most wise and resolute and beneficient measure. Every loyal statesman who has spoken has endorsed and approved it. Equally unanimous is the voice of the great people. *Let that voice be heard in tones of thunder.* Let every member of Congress from the loyal States go to Washington in December, pledged fathom deep to the principle that he who draws a sword against his country cannot hold a slave.

Correspondence of The Evening Post.

DAVENPORT, Iowa, Sept. 17, 1861.

President Lincoln's letter to Gen. Fremont was received here yesterday with blank astonishment and dismay. It seems impossible to those who know anything of the character of the crisis in Missouri, that an order so utterly destructive of the interests of the Union could emanate from the Administration. Men of all classes talk as if the lash was on their own backs. The feeling of disappointment and grief throughout this community amounts to an agony. Fremont's noble stand had given confidence to loyal millions and an effectual blow to treason and wrong. And now, to see our best hopes dashed to earth, to be thus baffled and disheartened where we should be firmly and magnanimously sustained, is all that we can possibly bear. For God's sake, we pray the government to forbear, and not give encouragement to the ruffianly hordes that are devastating the land. Can nothing be said or done to retrieve this great and fatal error of the Administration, and restore the hopeful, grateful, sacrificing spirit to the people which the righteous proclamation of Fremont inspired? Our General well knows what military necessity demands. *The Evening Post* must comprehend the magnitude of this question, and we trust that before now it has spoken with the decision and emphasis which the cause of freedom and justice demands. The heart of the nation is almost breaking with its burden: O, may its voice reach those in authority at Washington, who seem to ignore the foul ulcer that is eating out our strength and life!

Enlisting has been going on finely, but now the ardor of citizens and soldiers is chilled, and mourning, like a pall, lies heavy upon the whole Northwest.

H. N. P.

From The Ashtabula (O.) Sentinel.

There is a craven cowardice about such an order at this time as will stink in the nostrils of all true men. It is of no use to mince terms any longer. We are reaching a crisis when things should be called by their right names and men should speak what they mean. If the government is to fight this rebellion and practise the treason to itself of sustaining slavery *for* the rebels, and giving them the aid and comfort of returning all their fugitive slaves, it is time that we should know it, that we may calculate how much of our blood this Moloch demands as our sacrifice, before we can have peace. Our people will sustain their flag at all events; but this requiring of them to sustain the flag for *us* and *slavery* for *rebels* is such a burden as no other government has ever laid upon its people; and it should be required no longer. Let the people speak and demand of the President in tones that will be heard above the voice of the mousing politicians, who infest the councils of the government with their intolerable cowardice, that this course must cease; and that they shall no longer be required to make this fearful sacrifice of blood and treasure to sustain that monster evil.

From The St. Louis Democrat.

In Fremont's celebrated proclamation of martial law, the point which has attracted greatest attention is his declaration that the slaves of rebels in Missouri are free men. It is not exaggeration to say that while, with scarcely an exception, loyal citizens everywhere cordially approved of the proclamation, this [illegible] popularly, endorsed with special enthusiasm. Almost the entire patriotic press of the Union, in the most emphatic language, applauded Fremont's course in freeing the rebels' slaves. Even the Louisville *Journal*, in its deprecation

to Kentucky, it would only affect rebel slaveholders. And why should they be spared; or why should any, by relief from this needed apprehension, be encouraged to become rebels? Folly, *Folly*, Folly, is written all over this act.

And this sad reversal of all our anticipations, this shield interposed by the President for whom we voted as the fast friend of liberty, to protect slavery, this apple of discord thrown into the Northern States when they were united in Fremont's policy, comes from our Chief Magistrate, by whose recommendation we are soon to observe a day of national fasting and prayer. Oh! that the President had read the fifty-eighth chapter of Isaiah before penning the letter annulling the noble proclamation of Fremont! Surely, in that case, he would not have called us to fast, with the remembrance so fresh in our minds that he had just used his power as President to prevent "the breaking of the yoke and letting the oppressed go free." He little thought of the burden he would bring upon those who have been praying for him night and day, in accordance with his request and their own hearts prompting, ever since he started for Washington. He did not imagine that he was undermining our courage in approaching God to pray for his blessing, by arraying the nation against the requirements of God's word, and volunteering a defense of a doomed iniquity. But so it is; and with an untold sorrow we have received the intelligence of this moral defeat. But we have faith that *the people*—"the plain people," of whom Mr. Lincoln said true and hopeful things in his message—will send up such a remonstrance from every part of the North as shall convince the President and his Cabinet that they have made *the* mistake of the war in their recent action. It is better, in such a matter, to trust the instinct of the people than the sagacity of worldly-wise politicians.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS ON THE WAR POWER OVER SLAVERY.

[We published, some time since, Mr. Adams's chief exposition of his views as to the power of the government to abolish slavery in time of war, as delivered by him in Congress in 1842. But it should be known that Mr. Adams advanced these views, not only on one memorable occasion, but several years previously. In a late article in the Boston *Transcript*, by Charles Francis Adams, Jr., grandson of John Quincy Adams, the writer, in referring to the extracts which we gave to our readers several months ago, says:]

The speech was delivered in the House of Representatives on the 14th of April, 1842; but it was by no means on that occasion alone that Mr. Adams expounded what he called the "War and Treaty making Power of the Constitution," in that connection.

* * * * * *

On the 25th of May, 1836, in a speech on the subject of distributing rations to the fugitives from Indian hostilities in Alabama and Georgia, while arraigning the foreign policy of the country as tending to drive us into murderous wars, Mr. Adams first, I believe, announced this doctrine in the following words:

"Mr. Chairman, are you ready for all these wars? A Mexican war? A war with Great Britain, if not with France? A general Indian war? A servile war? And, as an inevitable consequence of them all, a civil war? For it must ultimately terminate in a war of colors as well as of races. And do you imagine that, while wielding your eyes open you are wilfully kindling, and then closing your eyes and blindly rushing into them; do you imagine that, while in the very nature of things, your own Southern and South-western States must be the Flanders of these complicated wars, the battle-field on which the last great battle must be fought between slavery and emancipation; do you imagine that your Congress will have no constitutional authority to interfere with the institution of slavery *in its own soil* in the States of this Confederacy? Sir, they must and will interfere with it—perhaps to sustain it by war; perhaps to abolish it by treaties of peace; and they will not only possess the constitutional power so to interfere, but they will be bound in duty to do it by the express provisions of the Constitution itself. From the instant that your slaveholding States become the theatre of war, civil, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery in every way in which it can be interfered with, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of the State burdened with slavery to a foreign power."

I am not aware that this doctrine was again propounded by Mr. Adams until his speech on the rescinding of the 21st rule on the 7th of June, 1841. Of this speech no report, unfortunately, ever was made, but in it he apparently covered this ground again. On the next day he was followed in debate by Mr. C. J. Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania, who declared that what he had heard the day before had made his "blood curdle with horror," and at once proceeded to misrepresent Mr. Adams, whereupon—

"Mr. Adams here rose in explanation, and said he did not say that, in the event of a servile war or insurrection of slaves, the Constitution of the United States would be at an end. What he did say was this, that in the event of a servile war or insurrection of slaves, if the people of the free States were called upon to suppress the insurrection, and to spend their blood and treasure in putting an end to the war—a war in which the distinguished Virginian, the author of the Declaration of Independence, had said that "God has no attribute in favor of the master"—then he would not say that Congress might not interfere with the institution of slavery in the States, and that, through the *treaty-making power*, universal emancipation might not be the result."

All of which Mr. Ingersoll declared to be most "easily refutable," but in the somewhat lengthy speech which followed, he did not see fit to refute it. The doctrine had now, however, been enunciated, and Mr. Adams was forced to stand by it or abandon it, for it was hurled at him on all occasions, particularly by Hon. (now Brig.-Gen.) Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, in certain brutal onslaughts upon him, in January, 1842, and by Thomas F. Marshall, of Kentucky, in his somewhat celebrated and unfortunate attempt to censure him, in February of the same year. Their comments, however, were all "indignation, passion, and fury," and Mr. Adams's propositions stood unshaken. In the following April, however, the occasion offered, and Mr. Adams then vindicated his previous assertions, and laid down the law of nations and of war in the extracts quoted by *The Tribune*, and so singularly applicable to our present position.

This declaration of the law on this point was, therefore, no hasty opinion of Mr. Adams, called forth in the heat of debate. It was first announced as law by him six years before—in the interval it had often recurred to his mind—he formally repeated it in 1841, and finally in April, 1842, when, by bitter and repeated attacks, he had been forced to carefully weigh every word he had ever uttered on the subject, he again reiterated the doctrine; by illustration and argument proved his law to be sound; and carried it to that point where, nineteen years later, it was found by Congress and Gen. Fremont, and has recently been applied in Missouri.

Quincy, Sept. 10, 1861.

LETTER TO GENERAL FREMONT.

The following letter, signed by several pastors of different denominations in one of the principal towns of De Kalb County, Ill., has been sent to General Fremont: K.

Major-General Fremont—*Honored and Dear Sir:* The undersigned ministers of the gospel, representing, as we believe, the unanimous and enthusiastic sentiment in this part of Illinois, the sentiment we trust of twenty millions of loyal citizens of the *United* States, desire hereby to declare to you our unspeakable satisfaction with, and gratitude to God for the position taken in your proclamation of martial law in Missouri, and especially for those words destined we trust to become historic and immortal by their fulfilment, viz: "*Their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared free men.*"

We trust, dear sir, it will be grateful to your feelings to be assured, that in closet, family and Church, with millions of fellow-supplicants, we daily cry to the Lord of Hosts, that He will be your "help and shield" (115 Psalm), to gird you and your army with strength from on high to carry those glorious words into speedy and complete effect, so that traitors and tyrants may fall before you, and the hallelujahs of "vassals long enslaved," transformed into "*free men*," mingling with the music of the Star Spangled Banner, may cheer your triumphant pathway to the Gulf, and give you an immortal name by the side of a Moses, a Cyrus, a Cromwell, a Washington, as a liberator of mankind and a conservator of human freedom.

With prayers to God and hymns of freedom, we send our Christian brethren to your army, and look to see the history of the old "Ironsides" and their noble "Protector," reenacted in this great valley.

What a Missouri Slaveholder Thinks.—The St. Louis *Democrat* publishes an interesting letter from a slaveholder, residing in Marion county, Missouri, who owns thirty-five slaves, and who takes this view of Fremont's proclamation:—If the result of the Confiscation act shall be freedom to some of the slaves, the government nor the President cannot thereby be blamed, for they have not forced the war. I see no principle in justice or law why negroes should be excepted from confiscation any more than any other species of property, and if they are justly and legally forfeited by the owner to the government, they thereby become the property of the government and subject to their disposition, and I know of no right that the rebels who have forfeited them by their own acts, have to dictate to the authorities in power the manner in which they should be disposed of, whether to be sold again to loyal citizens, or set free. I confess I have no complaint to make of Mr. Fremont for his late proclamation. It would have been sufficient, perhaps, if he had left off with the word "confiscation;" but he did not, and I am rather inclined to the view that the proclamation has had a better effect, as it has set the people to thinking more about results.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1861.

Correspondents will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "Editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard, No. 5 Beekman street, New York."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "Publisher of the Anti-Slavery Standard, No. 5 Beekman street, New York."

GENERAL FREMONT.

The Pathfinder has been again at the work he has done so well before. And, as a Pathfinder must needs be, he finds himself in advance of those that sent him forward. And though they may disclaim or recall him, because he has done the task assigned him too well, the path he has found will remain open, and will soon echo to the resounding march of onward legions. Neither Lincoln nor Holt, nor any other creature, can shut up the way he has opened for the forward movement of the North to its final victory. At least, the North must choose between that way and defeat and surrender. If it prefer the interests and glory of slavery to their own, it is competent to do so. But the shame will be theirs, while the glory of Gen. Fremont will remain as bright as if it had chosen the better part he offered it. He has placed himself in the van of our current history, and occupies a place more backward chieftains will contest with him, as soon as the die of the war is cast—whichever way it turn. At this moment he is the man the most honored at the North and the most respected at the South, of any in the field. For he has dared to take the responsibility of an act which the common sense of the North and the instinct of the South promises to be the key of the problem which distracts the nation, and which can only supply its satisfactory solution.

It was an evil day for Mr. Lincoln when he yielded to the pro-slavery influences of the border State interest and consented to order the modification of the glorious proclamation of Gen. Fremont. It was one of those blunders which are worse than crimes, because they are more mischievous than they. And this on his own ground of the duty of doing all to hold fast the allegiance of the border States. Gen. Fremont, with the eye of a statesman as well as of a military commander, saw the weak point of the enemy he was sent to reduce, and he chose to use it for his own purposes, instead of strengthening it for theirs. There was nothing in his proclamation that involved, necessarily, the general emancipation of the slaves of his department. He had no right to do so, under the oath by virtue of which he held his commission. But he was not frightened by the apparition of a black man when it crossed his path, as are our public men in general; but he discerned the precise use that sable spectre could be put to for frightening the Missourians from their propriety, or into it. Congress had ordained that all slaves of rebels employed in any military way should be freed. Gen. Fremont, acting on the supreme responsibility resting in him as military head of his District, bettered the virtual instructions which the nation had thus given him. Congress, to Mr. Lincoln's great distress of mind, as we are told, refused to recognize in human sinews a property more sacred than that in any other things bought and sold, provided they were used in direct furtherance of the war against the nation. Gen. Fremont proclaimed freedom to the slaves of all rebels, because they were necessarily aiding and abetting their masters in their rebellion, whatever they were about. His proclamation was but a logical sequence of the Act of Congress—but a step further, and a very short one, in the same direction. What difference does it make whether the slave of a rebel digs an entrenchment for his master, or by staying at home and working on the farm enables his master to dig the entrenchment for himself? Or, if not at the war himself, to furnish provisions, or money, or munitions to those that are? Gen. Fremont's proclamation was the very simplicity and truth of common sense. And the North in general so discerns it.

The importance of this action of his is proved by the instantaneous test it proved of the quality of the loyalty of the border States. How did it concern Mr. Holt or the loyal Kentuckians and Missourians that the slaves of traitors were to be set free, if they were really true at heart? There was no proposition to molest them in their holding of human flesh and blood in fee. If those States are as faithful to the Union as the Union men protest that they are, why this instinctive shrinking from the retribution due to the traitors they profess to abhor, when it takes the shape the most dreaded by them? It is palpable that Mr. Holt and the border State men who acted on the mind of the President in this matter knew that Kentucky and Missouri swarmed so thick with [illegible] that the carrying out of Gen. Fremont's proclamation would be equivalent to an almost universal emancipation. And, this being the case, is the United States government to withhold its hand from smiting its enemies where they will feel the blow the most, out of deference to the prejudices of these its hollow friends? A more suicidal measure has seldom been adopted than the President's modification of that proclamation. It is strengthening the hearts and hands of his enemies and weakening those of his friends. And the secret of the pro-slavery intrigue to supplant Mr. Cameron by Mr. Holt, is now so plain that the wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err therein. It was part of the plot by which slavery was still to be held more sacred than the Union, which was to perish, in the last resort, if it could be preserved only by the destruction of slavery. This plot has failed, thus far, through the intelligence of the people of the North, and we may hope that that intelligence will yet countermand and counteract the more insidious mischiefs of which this tampering with the Fremont proclamation may be the harbinger.

Gen. Fremont has commended himself to the really loyal masses of the North, as the man necessary for this hour. From all quarters we hear the utterance of regrets that he is not at the head of the nation, at this its hour of crisis. And we see the proofs of his fitness for the moment in the very complaints that are factiously ventilated against him. He refuses to make himself one of the public entertainments of St. Louis and declines making his good right arm the handle of the town pump! And he makes the convenience of local politicians wait the leisure of the momentous duties of his command! These are sore grievances, we dare say, at St. Louis; but we submit to them everywhere else with grateful resignation and think them especial signs of grace. What a blessed President he would be, if he could but stay that tide of vulgar familiarities, first let in by Gen. Jackson, which floods the White House and overwhelms public men—aye, and private men, too—everywhere! Vulgarity is no more a part of Republicanism than spitting on the floor or sitting with the feet higher than the head. As to Gen. Fremont's transcending the laws of the land, in the exercise of his military discretion, it strikes us that the President's example is more to the point than his words. We apprehend that each General in command of a Department is as absolute within its limits as the President in his larger domain of the whole country. In time of civil war, necessity is the law of both, and the General must be as absolute as the President within his jurisdiction. The President has taken the responsibility of suspending the *habeas corpus*, of establishing State-prisons by his own authority, of filling them with prisoners arrested without any form of law, of suppressing newspapers, and of preventing the assembling of the Legislature of a Sovereign State. But he is sustained in all these extraordinary stretches of power—of which there are no examples in our country, and scarcely in any other pretending to Constitutional guarantees—because the exigency of the times requires it, and because they are used in the interest of freedom against slaveholding tyranny. What has Gen. Fremont done more than this, impelled by the exigencies of his Department? More! Aye, or the tithe of it, if the slavery of black men be not a more sacred right than the freedom of white men.

What the result of this interference of Mr. Lincoln with Gen. Fremont's well-considered policy may be, is yet uncertain. Its immediate effect must be to give heart and encouragement to the rebels and embarrass his military plans. It may, very likely, have the effect of delivering up Missouri and Kentucky to the rebels. A result absolutely certain to follow, should the intrigue against Gen. Fremont succeed in ousting him from his command. But, should he remain where he is, it is not impossible that the head the rebels may make, because of this proof of Executive weakness, may justify him in declaring all the slaves in his Department freemen, under the War Powers of the Constitution. This power is not, and cannot be, controlled by the President. And when the path has once been opened, there will be no lack of men ready to press into it. The North is fast getting ready to demand this. It is now fully ready to sustain it, joyfully. Happy will be the man that shall be the Pathfinder to the way of this Nation's escape from its abiding danger and disgrace.

WOULD THE PEOPLE APPROVE AND HELP?

It is a significant sign of the times, that those declarations and acts of public men which have gone farthest in opposition to slavery, since the rebellion has been in progress, have excited the most general and enthusiastic approval on the part of the people.

Looking merely at the long-established custom of our nation to tolerate slavery as a settled "institution," and at the custom of a portion of the public press constantly to reiterate that the war is against rebellion only, not at all against slavery, one would have expected the contrary. If these considerations alone settled the matter, Butler and Fremont would have *lost* ground in public estimation, instead of gaining it, by their emphatic suggestions that the war should apply itself immediately, and directly, to freeing the slaves of rebels. On the contrary, these very suggestions have been applauded and echoed with intense enthusiasm, and the hearts and hopes of the people turn to these men as their best and wisest counsellors.

Why will not the President learn wisdom from these obvious facts, which summon him, as with the voice of a trumpet, to point the *nation's* course in that same direction! How strange is it, that while men in high stations and low stations are every day found ready to take the responsibility of doing wrong, the head of a great nation stands hesitating on the brink of an opportunity to do right! hesitating to adopt a measure which would at once bring the greatest welfare to his country, and shed resplendent and unfading lustre upon his Administration!

A President—we do not forget by what hands, and of what stuff, these functionaries are made—a President thinks first, in regard to any new movement, whether it will have the approval of the people; whether its execution will meet with help or hindrance from them. In this case, the prospect is clear and plain, that a vigorous attack upon the weak point of the rebels would be hailed with enthusiasm by the great mass of Northern men. We have heretofore pointed out the double effect which such a movement must necessarily have upon the enemy. It must, of course, occasion an expectation of attack on *some* portions of their long line of Northern, Eastern, or Southern border, where a commencement may be made of arming their slaves, to help overthrow their rebellion against the government. Since they cannot tell, or even guess, what part of this long line will be first assailed, they must be ready for defence at every point; and to make even a faint approximation towards the defence of their most exposed points, they must recall large portions of that force which has marched from all the seceding States to defend Richmond and to assail Washington. Every week or two, for months past, we have heard rumors of an expected attack on the Capital, requiring the hurrying forward of more regiments for its defence. In three days from the publication of a proclamation by the United States government, declaring the slaves of all rebels from that moment free, the danger of invasion of Washington would forever have ceased; the force which now threatens it would have divided, half withdrawing to make good, if possible, the defence of Richmond, and the other half marching, in double quick time, to secure their border homes from the most fatal of all possible attacks—an attack which would end the rebellion by removing its cause.

It was the President's duty to go forward in such a movement, manfully taking whatever risk necessarily belonged to it. His delay has given others the opportunity of encountering this glorious risk, while it was yet uncertain whether the people would approve or condemn. Butler and Fremont have seized this opportunity, and their boldness has been crowned with success. When the aëronaut sees, by the movement of his miniature, preliminary trial balloons, that the upper and lower currents of air are favorable, he no longer hesitates to embark. Butler and Fremont have made these prefatory experiments, and the signs promise a successful voyage for a grand expedition. Why does the Commander-in-Chief still hesitate? Nay, worse! Why does he even seek to limit the admirable movement of Fremont, curbing his action by the restrictive declarations of Congress? When war, which does so much evil, can do a positively good thing—when the license of war, which commonly impairs moral and spiritual, not less than material welfare, has the opportunity to do a truly noble deed, legitimately effecting that which forms and precedents forbid in ordinary times, what a pity not to do it! When the sudden necessity of exercising the War Power has released the President from the restraint of these forms and precedents, and severed the bonds of red tap tape which have thus far been his poor excuse for inaction, why, in Heaven's name, should he not act, and show himself the man for the hour, as much as Fremont and Butler? Can it be that our severest words in past times against Abraham Lincoln have been the truest ones, and that he does not *wish* the extension of freedom or the overthrow of slavery?

In the excellent letter of Gerrit Smith to the President (which we published three weeks ago) it is well suggested that men have vastly overrated the importance of conciliating the loyal slaveholders; that not one in ten of the slaveholders was ever professedly loyal; and that, among those who are determined slaveholders, and who insist, as all such do, on the maintenance of slavery at whatever hazard to other interests, not one is loyal; that the true lover of his country goes for his country, at whatever hazard to his pecuniary interests; and that (even on the monstrous hypothesis that the slaves are property) the truly loyal slaveholder would no more stipulate for the continued possession of his slaves, before engaging in the war, than Gen. Wadsworth did for the continued possession of his sheep and oxen. The truly loyal man cheerfully takes the risks which the defence of his country brings upon his property, of every kind. The nobles of Moscow set fire to their own houses at the approach of Napoleon. John Hancock counselled the burning of Boston, in which his house, and all his wealth, were situated, rather than let the British army have the advantage of possessing it. The stipulation that his slaves must be made sure to him, as a condition precedent to his engagement in the service of the United States, would be one certain mark of a traitor at heart. Every truly loyal slaveholder would cheerfully take such risk of this sort as may exist. Even now there is circulating through the periodical press the declaration of a rich slaveholder of North Carolina [?], whose father and grandfather had been slaveholders before him, that the Union is to be valued and saved, irrespective of all risks, whether to the continued possession of slaves, or to the institution of slavery itself.

There is, therefore, no need of scruple in this matter out of regard to the numbers and strength of the loyal population. A sifting out of the indisposed would leave us stronger instead of weaker. We shall know where we stand, and be able to act effectively in measures offensive and defensive, only when the line shall have been plainly drawn between the disloyal and the loyal.

Another consideration—the moral force inherently belonging to a right position—seems not to have been thought of, not to be understood, by our President. Gerrit Smith says well, again—"Boldness for the right is mighty to convert men to the right."

We believe that—besides the great and immediate effect (above alluded to) of a Presidential Proclamation of freedom to the slaves of rebels, in diminishing the numbers and restricting the operations of the chief rebel army—an enthusiastic voice of approval from the whole North would welcome such a measure, and cheer the President onward in the details of its execution. The very persons who, if consulted beforehand, would have shrunk from advising this great and decisive movement, would see its fitness at a glance when proclaimed as an accomplished fact; as a line of policy decided and entered upon by the government. The auspicious character of the new moral stand-point thus gained would have an immense influence, in creating *steadiness* of confidence in the hearts of the people, both those who go to fight, and those who remain in charge of home duties. The grand result then would be regarded as sure, without variableness or shadow of turning in the minds of either actors or spectators. There would no more be either panics or serious reverses. The loss of a battle would be but a momentary check, a loss of so much valuable time and of so many precious lives, indeed, but not imperilling for a moment the cause of the nation.

Still more certainly would this moral strength be gained if the President, instead of merely freeing the slaves of rebels, should use the power which war has so opportunely put into his hands, of abolishing slavery throughout the country. If the conciliation of loyal slaveholders be needful, he can insure it by pledging to them the assurance of the government against any pecuniary loss to them which the change in question might involve. But an opportunity now exists such as is rarely seen in the history of the world, for one man, by one act, to gain the highest and most honorable distinction for himself, to bestow the greatest of blessings upon his country, and beneficently to modify the influence of that country upon the world!

The hour is upon us. It remains to be seen whether Abraham Lincoln is the man. Long as he has lingered in indecision, or worse, the whole chance for the realization of this magnificent possibility has not yet slipped from his grasp. He may yet, if he will, impress a noble, a glorious meaning upon Webster's misused words; he may enable the lips of unborn millions to claim for the United States, more truly than we have ever been able to do, the inheritance of "Liberty and Union! Now and forever! One and inseparable!"

WESTERN OPERATIONS.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

My movements in Western Pennsylvania and Ohio have extended now over about three weeks in time and three Counties in space. And nothing is more certain to me than that our peculiar work is just as far from being complete as slavery is from being abolished. My meetings are almost invariably large, and partly so for the reason that many of the thinking portion of the people are growing much alarmed at the present aspects of the political skies. The new cry of "Union for the sake of the Union!" which means simply for the sake of success in trade (political brokerage included), has awakened the apprehensions of many serious persons; and the fear that the conflict with the Slave Power is to result only in compromise (or defeat), grows daily stronger and stronger.

The general joy and satisfaction with which Mr. Holt of Kentucky was greeted, on his whole tour eastward to Boston, and particularly in Boston, creates much alarm. No one supposes for a moment that, with all his soft words and smooth speeches, he would sacrifice slavery in one of its delectable attributes of *breeding, trading, hunting*, or *holding*, for the sake of Union with the very angels of heaven; much less with beings so despicable as our Northern Yankees in any slaveholder's eyes. And yet he was everywhere welcomed, as a very Messiah, sent to save the country from dissolution and destruction!

Could anything be more diabolical than the closing illustration in his Boston speech? Does it mean any more or less than "aid and comfort" to our foe? an encouragement to the Southern Confederates, that if they will persist they shall yet have supreme control of the whole Union? Is it not a direct demand on the North that, rather than see the Union divided, they shall thus yield it into the hands of those whose murderous intent is now so well known? It seems to me that one comparison of the contest to the dispute between the two mothers about the dead and living children, before King Solomon, and the use he made of it, is the rankest treason yet uttered, and, by all the laws of war, should have cost him his life by the halter! And yet I have looked in vain to find any censure or even criticism of it in any paper—pro-slavery, anti-slavery, or Abolitionist—throughout the land. No wonder that even Gen. Fremont's proclamation is half revoked already!

Another cause of alarm here in Ohio is, the sudden nomination, almost by general acclamation, of a rank, long-known, and every way tried Democrat, of the true Southern type, for Governor, by a union of all parties. It is called "a union of all parties," but is really a total surrender of the whole Republican *policy*, as well as party, to its direst, deadliest foe, without one single compensating consideration whatever in return, not even a vote of thanks.

The letter of the new candidate, accepting the nomination, is much more an address to the Southern banditti (whom he lovingly calls "*our deceived Southern brethren*") than to his own constituency. In it he says he has hitherto been counted among those who were "*their warmest and most devoted friends*" at the South, and he "*prays the time may not be long in its approach when our deceived Southern brethren shall be restored to their allegiance*"; the masses of whom, he believes, "still love the Union, and would, were they left untrammelled and unforced, declare to-morrow their will for its continuance." And he says, "the more effectually the war is prosecuted, the speedier the hour will come when we shall behold the Union *as it was, and as it was intended to be, and as it must and shall be*—not a pillar withdrawn from the magnificent temple, not a star erased from the glorious constellation."

To such a nomination for Governor as this, go, apparently with nearly unanimous voice, the whole former constituency of Joshua R. Giddings, led on by no less a chieftain than Senator Wade himself, lieutenanted by Judge Spalding, Judge Tilden, and the like of them, who interpret the Constitution like Gerrit Smith, and then send a slave girl back to bondage, to vindicate the majesty of law.

You may well suppose, therefore, that among genuine Abolitionists here on the Reserve (and, indeed, every where) this new revelation crowds my meetings generally, and this state of things is necessarily observed with trembling interest.

The call of the government for half a million soldiers and five hundred million dollars, to be sacrificed in war, is too serious an affair to be regarded with indifference. And if the counsels of the nation are to emanate from the like of David Tod, "always counted among the warmest and most devoted friends" of slaveholders, on his own boastful confession, and Joseph Holt, whose most cogent argument to slaveholders in Kentucky is, that out of the Union, and away from the Fugitive Slave law, "*slavery will there perish rapidly away, as a ball of snow would melt in a summer's sun*"; if the counsels and control of the country are to emanate from such sources, why should not the friends of Freedom be alarmed?

We are not to view the subject in the light of any party politics longer. There are no party distinctions on old issues now. Republicans in Congress unanimously consented to abandon the last distinctive plank in their platform, and Senator Breckinridge applauded and praised what he called their "*patriotic* motives" in so doing. Political flumes, flood-gates, and embankments are now all swept away, and one whelming deluge of devotion to the Union, *as it was*, with slavery eternized, is now sweeping over the country, from ocean to ocean. Only the pebble-stone protest of a few faithful Abolitionists (alas, how very few!) any longer obstructs its terrible course. Parker Pillsbury.

Newbury, Ohio, Sept. 1860.

To Correspondents.—A letter from Mrs. Martineau, dated Sept. 9th, came too late for publication this week.—An article from the Rev. Henry T. Cheever, on "The Chronic Hesitancy of the Churches to Proceed against Slavery," is on file for insertion as soon as we can find room.—The letter of our Kansas friend, "J. B. H." will probably appear next week.—The poem of "Ivy" is not quite up to our "Standard."—We have postponed (not rejected) the favor of "A. P. C.", for a reason which will appear in due time, and which cannot fail to prove satisfactory to her.

Our European Correspondence.

FROM OUR DUBLIN CORRESPONDENT.

Dublin, Sept. 7, 1861.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

My friend, your Philadelphia correspondent, in the last of his published letters which has come to hand, reminds me that neither the London *Anti-Slavery Advocate* nor I can justly assume to be "the people of England." I cordially agree with him in this opinion, though I am unaware that either *The Advocate* or I has ever in any manner plagiarized this majestic assumption of the three tailors of Tooley street. I at least am not so presumptuous. In the infinite shades and modifications of public opinion amongst such a population as that of Great Britain, so varied in position, education, and real or supposed interests, it would be the height of folly for any man to speak as the representative of the nation. All that any one can do is to keep his eyes open and to give you as honestly as he can his impressions of the state of feeling respecting your affairs. If I fail in doing this well, for want of ability or of sufficient largeness of view, I beg that my statements may be taken for no more than they are worth, and that I shall not be regarded as setting up for editorial wisdom and omniscience—which, being a modest man, I utterly disclaim and repudiate.

I entirely agree with Mr. McKim that the English dislike to American slavery is by no means of that quality which entitles them to the reputation of Abolitionists. Whether the Abolitionist is right or wrong in uncompromising hostility to slavery, he is not an abundant animal either in England or America. There are very few men or women in any class of life, in any part of the world, whom the slaveholder cannot win over by some appeal to their personal interest or sectarian predilections. I have often had occasion to remark the disappointment of your veteran fellow-laborers, when they crossed the Atlantic hoping to find everybody here of their own way of thinking. Indeed, a very little reflection should show any one that we are, on the whole, quite as much on the right side as there was any good reason to expect. Whence come the teachers of the English people on this great question? Surely from the United States. Until this present summer, we have had increasing swarms of American visiters with good black cloth coats on their backs, gold watches in their pockets, and plenty of gold coin in their purses—responsible, respectable men—merchants, scholars, planters, and divines—of whom nineteen-twentieths have been the zealous apologists or defenders of slavery. Being American strangers, these people have frequently had access to our most exclusive circles, and as gentlemen, they have been regarded as truthful, and have had access to the confidence and respect of their hosts and entertainers in a way and to a degree which were utterly unattainable by many English opponents of slavery. When we consider this fact, and the immense influence for evil which was thus exercised upon the leaders of English opinion in the circles of fashion, literature and religion, the wonder really is that we have not been corrupted altogether. As far as respects the influence of the great majority of our American visiters, there would be far more justice in our declaring that you had corrupted us than in the recent outcry that we have withheld our sympathy from you. So persuaded have I been of the influence for evil thus exercised, that I have for years maintained that if an organized opposition to slavery and the diffusion of information respecting it had no other object, they would be amply justified by the necessity of keeping the British people on their guard against the pro-slavery propaganda. Every intelligent American Abolitionist knows this to be true as well as I do, and therefore I am surprised at the surprise expressed by some who should know better, that our position towards the Northern States is not as full of sympathy as they appear to expect. It may be that if we were on the spot, and could judge of the Northern mind, not as it is conveyed in the newspapers, or by the acts of the government, but as it is manifested in the ordinary intercourse of daily life, we should be full of hope and sympathy. But when we hear on the best authority that rebels are feted in Baltimore under the eye of Federal Generals, when we read that the Federal government retains employées in the public service who are known to be traitors to the nation, and of the ladies of Washington making an open display of their interest in rebel prisoners found with arms in their hands, we are amazed at the want of energy and resolution in the higher officers of your government, and are very generally coming round to the opinion that however guilty the Southern leaders are, it is not within the power of the North to subdue them; and that if the war were brought to an end without concession to slavery, the North, having shaken off the incubus which has hitherto weighed down her energies, would speedily attain a degree of vigor, power, and well-founded self respect far beyond all former experience. When we remember the vast extent of the slave States, the imperfect means of communication, the numbers of the population scattered over a country so thickly covered with swamps, forests and imperfect clearings, I think it likely they would be subdued with difficulty by any force which the greatest military power could bring to bear against them—just as the thirteen orginal colonies defied for seven years and finally defeated the whole power of Great Britain.

A staunch Abolitionist, who has for years taken a warm and intelligent interest in all your efforts, called on me [illegible] with at [illegible] intelligence (which I give you as I get it, without any claim to speak on behalf of the people of England) that the supply of cotton now in Great Britain will not last beyond December, and that the French supply is already nearly exhausted. He then asked me, "Do you think Lord Palmerston or Louis Napoleon will allow the vast multitude of the English and French people who depend upon the cotton manufacture to starve for the sake of maintaining the blockade?" He says (mind, he says—I do not say) that *he* would march in and buy the cotton and then allow the North and the South to fight it out among themselves. I have read Grotius de Bello ac Pace, and have a very confused idea of the principles of warlike morality, but I have a notion that, whatever may be the correct view of the question, whenever it becomes one of a loaf or no bread, I would not greatly rely upon the patience of the lively old gentleman who governs us in the Queen's name, nor of the chosen of the French people. If we were fairly over the next twelve months, the cotton monopoly of the slave States would probably be utterly broken up, and American slavery would have received the heaviest blow it is capable of receiving.

In the letter from the Honorable N. H. Whiting, read at the Abington celebration, that worthy gentleman revives an accusation which should never come from the lips of an Abolitionist. I allude to the stale charge that England is mainly guilty of American slavery. Now, considering that if England really had forced slavery on America, I am no more responsible for the acts of my remote ancestors than Mr. Whiting himself, I look on this attempt to throw the guilt of slavery from off the actual criminals and to fix it upon me as simply absurd. But I have taken the trouble to read through a second time a book in my possession which is devoted to this very question, and it is shown very clearly by Mr. Graham, author of a "History of the United States," in his essay entitled "Who is to Blame; or a Cursory Review of an American Apology for American Accession to Negro Slavery,"* that there was nothing within the competence of the British crown to prevent any one of the provincial governments from abolishing slavery within its limits, and so putting an end at once to slavery and the slave trade. He asserts that not one of them was disposed to make any such sacrifice; nor would they have suffered Great Britain, had she been so minded, to have imposed it on them. What some of the Northern provinces proposed, and what the British government withstood, was that they should continue slaveholding States, and yet suffer no more slaves to be imported into their territory or purchased by their people. It was proposed in these Northern provinces at once to retain the demand and to prohibit the supply; to sanction property in slaves, and yet debar their people, or rather a part of their people, from acquiring it, and so create a slaveholding aristocracy. This was what the British government of the day refused to accede to. From Graham's Essay it appears very clearly, as one might naturally expect, that the colonists were much more eager to obtain the supposed advantage of getting their work done for them by slaves than the home government were to confer this benefit upon them.

Yours truly, Richard D. Webb.

* Published in London, in 1842, by Smith, Elder & Co.

Our Boston Correspondence.

FROM AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT.

The Summary.—The heaven of romancers and correspondents identical—Elective affinities of ink and paper—Concerning Philosophers—Whether or not they should be exempted from certain practical duties—Hegel and a Harvard Professor excused from the same—The Philosophy of Laziness—This popular school of thought examined and analyzed—Whether any immunities can be accorded to its disciples—"And yet it moves."—The missionaries in the witness box—Abolitionists of the old and new schools—The services appropriate to each—What *The Post* puts in italics—The business of the day.

Boston, Sept. 16, 1861.

There is nothing very marked or graphic to write about this week. You would like to know what bold utterances, either for or against the grand scheme you have in charge, have been heard among us. But the strongly marked characters that give these decided utterances are just what it is singularly difficult to find. A chronicler of fact, as well as a writer of fiction, is at great disadvantage when there are no very salient personages upon the scene. The future world for *good* correspondents, as for good novelists, should be made up of unnatural saintship or extravagant knavery—for these take to ink and paper as naturally as ducklings to the water. But such composite formations as are found along our business streets are as unfit for ornamental purposes as Dorchester pudding-stone; they can scarcely be chiselled into presentable shape.

The dead weight, that the anti-slavery men in this city are at present forced to carry upon their shoulders, is that of a very ancient and multitudinous school of *philosophers*. Understand us as ready to make all allowance for the genuine claimants of this name. To the few minds capable of energetic exertion even in the unproductive realms of metaphysical investigation, let us willingly grant a perpetual furlough from the petty moralities and expediences of our terrestrial state. The blunders and mistakes, the want of harmony and want of principle, achieved by many of these vigorous pilgrims, by no means cancel the usefulness of their example in the labor of concentrating thought, and in the polish and subtlety they have given the intellectual mechanism. It is of no great consequence that Hegel's Philosophy of History, a romance exquisite enough for a celestial circulating library, has been quoted to sustain slavery, or that Professor Bowen, whose Ethical Lectures are wholesome reading, once spoke unfortunately of Hungarian independence. The few genuine philosophers of every age may be excused for troubling themselves with practical results. Whether their arduous thinking terminates in victory or defeat—whether the major premises of their syllogisms may be reasoned into conclusions conformable with the beatitudes, or with what the fool said in his heart—so far as the public are concerned, is of slight matter. The baffled endeavors of acute intellects, who but soared to beat their wings against the limits of human capacity, are, in their way, as important teachers as catechizing deacons or lyceum lecturers. All tolerance, all respect, for the philosophers! But how shall we treat that large class of people who assume the name of philosophers, to whom social immunities can by no means be accorded? Their philosophy bears the same relation to the genuine article that the mystical confusions of pietism bear to the humane intelligence of piety. Instead of tossing in spiritual space till they have brought on an excusable moral dizziness, these pretenders (apparently taking the hint from certain itinerant lecturers) feign to produce the same effect by staring at a circular piece of metal in the palm of the hand. You know them, well-meaning gentlemen of "extended and *philosophical* views," of a culture far beyond the "Cursed be Canaan" style of argument—and you know what barriers they have been to the success of the anti-slavery enterprise. Some of them honestly mistook what was only an indolent timidity for the sublime moderation of philosophy. But how poor a delusion! It was not that, dogmatically assuming a false basis, they built thereupon a tower of logical arguments from which there was no escape; but that, given over to solemn plausibilities, they would never use logic enough to connect premises they were willing to grant with duties they never wished to perform. With this class of men phrases are everything. Philosophy was a good sounding word to express a willingness to ignore troublesome subjects, and thus it was adopted. Is it worthy a better name than the Philosophy of Laziness?

We are still troubled with this ancient school of thought. Here is a specimen discourse of one of its representative men: "I take a *philosophical view* of this matter: as for slavery, the war will abolish it, if we are only careful not to say a word on the subject: all the men in our bank think slavery has shown itself a desperate barbarism; but only evil can come from any public discussion of it; we've got enough to do to preserve the Union: let alone all delicate subjects: why can't you take philosophical views as I do?" And there is the Washington Cabinet, unable to do its own thinking from the bearing of contemporary events, but dependent from day to day upon the talk and

Still, it must be remembered that we have by no means left behind us the *possibility* of a more thorough subjugation to slavery than we have yet known. Your Washington correspondent recently stated one out of several ways in which such a calamity might happen. Though the cloud seem at times reduced to the size of a man's hand, it may yet spread to blacken all the heavens. Our greatest danger is in allowing a relaxation of effort because some of the difficulties are removed, and the path seems clearer than before. It is fatal to admit the insidious languor of "philosophical views," or to encourage the pious sentimentalisms of weak well-meaners, who talk as if they had taken tickets to see the Glory of the Lord, and had nothing to do but to sit in their places and wait for Him to begin. Every Abolitionist of the present time—whether his conviction grew with him when, long years ago, he grew to conscious manhood, or was yesterday thundered upon him by the cannon of treason and the crash of bankruptcy—every Abolitionist of to-day must realize that all possible labor and all possible sacrifices are required at his hands. * * X.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 23, 1861.

THE Fremont imbroglio is the most interesting topic of discussion with which the government is directly connected. Is Gen. Fremont to be removed? If so, *why* is he to be removed? The friends of the Administration give out that the trouble now under discussion in Cabinet meetings has nothing whatever to do with his proclamation. I believe, however, that if he is removed, it will be because he issued that proclamation. Mr. Seward and Mr. Lincoln were very much displeased because of the issue of that proclamation not so much because it freed the slaves of rebels (though Mr. Seward has not yet got cured of his old idea that the rebellion can be coaxed and compromised down) as because Gen. Fremont saw fit to act upon his own responsibility in the matter, and did not consult the government first. This was his great sin in the eyes of the Administration, and from that moment they were quite ready to give heed to all the stories against him which the mails or the Blairs might bring. I am convinced, from what I hear, that the Administration would like to get rid of Fremont, and would do so if it dared. It certainly has changed in this respect wonderfully within a week. Possibly it has just cause. It may be that evidence is before the President showing that Fremont is incompetent for his place. It is rumored that Mr. Chase is of this opinion, but your correspondent is slow to believe such stories, knowing, as he does, the smallness and weakness of most of the men composing the present Administration. How wisely does Prince Napoleon say: "*The republic of the United States is found to possess a government personnel far below the real worth of the nation!*" It is not strange that the Prince should form this judgment of entertainers who played him the Marsellaise at dinner, and who, while they toadied him, did not exhibit a particle of real statesmanship or diplomacy while he was in Washington. The Prince seems also to have read Mr. Seward at a glance, for he says, "his entire person denotes cunning and intelligence, also a little conceit." A very good hit, certainly, for a foreigner. But about Fremont. It is charged that he has proved himself inefficient, and extravagant in the expenditures of his department. This may be so, but it should not be forgotten that the Administration last summer risked the honor of the country, and came near ruining the cause, by refusing new regiments when they were offered—and the only excuse ever offered for this astounding blunder has been the fear of a depleted Treasury. If Fremont is to do anything in the West, he must be permitted to move quickly and energetically, and to do this, money is required. Doubtless, he has spent money freely—he has been obliged to do it and save Missouri. If he really is incompetent, let him be removed. No favoritism of government or people should, for one instant, stand in the way of the successful prosecution of the war. But the facts must be proved clearly, or the people will believe the Administration is actuated by a mean jealousy of a man who is a favorite with the masses.

As for Col. Frank Blair, he is like his brother in the Post Office, imprudent of speech, and not a man of strong intellect. The Blairs brought out Fremont in 1856, and now that a member of the family has fallen out with the General, the whole family is turned against their favorite. The old man Blair, the founder of the family, is a shrewd political manager and the sons are men of party. Frank Blair is one of the most generous-hearted men alive, and ought not to have involved himself in any trouble with Fremont.

The feeling here among the Republicans is strongly in favor of Gen. Fremont, but the most loyal sentiment prevails towards the government. If it is necessary for the good of the country, or Missouri, to remove Fremont, the people, and his own warm personal friends will not murmur *now*. They will not embarrass the Administration in the midst of the war, but will hold it to a rigid account when the war is over.

The idea which now sways the President is this: that the only hope of a restoration of the Union lies through a policy which will enable the Union men of the border slave States to stand up for the government and for the war. It is a well-known fact that the large slaveholders of Kentucky and Maryland, or a majority of them, are good Union men. The President's idea is that the only chance of restoring the Union is in keeping this class of men on his side. He does not believe in [illegible] the slaveholding States by a proclamation of freedom to the slaves, which would make the entire Southern people a unit. Now, he is either right or wrong. If right, he cannot be blamed for taking a moderate course which he fully believes will result in the final overthrow of slavery as a political power. If he is wrong, the responsibility is a tremendous one, and he assumes it with all its consequences. Whether right or wrong, there is no longer any hope of persuading the Administration to change it. The only friends Fremont has in the Cabinet are Chase and Welles. All the rest are understood to be against him. Blair *was* his earnest friend till his brother got into the hands of the St. Louis Provost Marshal. And, by the way, the arrest of Blair has a ludicrous side—it is a good deal like a doctor's being obliged to take his own medicine. When in Washington last, Frank Blair (and, as I have said before, a more gallant and noble fellow never lived) was very loud in condemnation of the authorities here in not declaring martial law and ruling the country with more rigor. He little thought then that he was about to feel in his own person the effects of a declaration of martial law, and it is to be hoped when he is released that he will report upon the feelings of a loyal man while in durance vile, with no chance of getting away till a military commander agrees to it.

It is a singular fact that the Democratic officers in our army seem to like Fremont's proclamation. Butler, Cochrane, Sickles and "other such" officers say Fremont was right and the President wrong! Isn't this a singular fact? Fremont is an old Democrat, and about the hardest work in the world is to make a live man out of an old Whig. But since the conversion of Edward Everett, we must admit that even that miracle is possible. The old Democrats in the Cabinet are, at this moment, the only men there with any life in them—Chase, Cameron, Welles and Blair. They are the earnest, straightforward men of the present Administration, while Seward, Bates, and Smith are the old fogies of the concern. This is said in no fault-finding spirit, but is simply the statement of a singular fact. *Upon the whole*, the government is doing very well—very much better than at any previous time. We must trust to the drift, to the current, against which not even an old fogy Whig can long stand still.

There is one fact connected with the Fremont affair which is inexplicable. A week ago, the government sent to St. Louis for six Illinois regiments to be sent to Washington for its protection! Yet, then and now there is more danger that Missouri will be subjugated by the rebels than there is of a rebel victory at any other point. It has been openly charged here that this was done to embarrass Fremont, but this is not so. The only question is—was it not an inexcusable blunder? Western men declare that it was, and that, if the middle and eastern States, together with Ohio and Michigan, cannot attend to Virginia and the Capitol, then the war may as well end. The extreme Western States will attend to Missouri and the Mississippi if the government will let them alone, but cannot do it if they are to be interfered with.

There seems to be much less prospect of a battle in the vicinity of the Capital than there was a week ago. If one is fought here, it ought to turn out well for the defence of Washington. Neither Ben. Wood or Vallandigham could object to the recent operations of the grand Union army. It has acted purely on the defensive government, for it has made everything bend to the sive, and is still so acting. "How long do you suppose it will be, at this rate," asked a John Bull, "before you put the rebellion down?" The reply was in these words. "The British government fought eight long years to put down a rebellion, the only object of which was liberty. Shall we not fight as long to subdue a rebellion which is entirely in the interest of slavery?" There will be early separation or final emancipation. This is absolutely certain. The South will not compromise, though, if she would, there are a plenty of men in the free States who would be ready to accommodate her. If Mr. Lincoln supposes the leaders of the South—all her great men—who won't compromise, can be put down by the sword, without a great war, he is terribly mistaken. This knowledge will come in due time—see if it doesn't. And then the government will make its choice between "separation and emancipation."

AVON.

FREMONT, THE PATHFINDER.

WHEN Whittier wrote the vigorous lines entitled, "The Pass of the Sierra," they seemed to us admirable alike in conception and execution, having, indeed, but one drawback, namely, this: the life of Fremont, up to that time, had given (we thought) no sufficient ground for the largeness of the confidence they expressed in his equal fitness, and equal readiness, to act as a leader in *moral* reform.

The evidence then wanting has now been supplied. Fremont has shown himself, of all our public men, military and civil, the man clearest-sighted to recognize, boldest to proclaim, and promptest to execute, the great demand of the hour. He has ripened into that nobleness of character which Whittier so splendidly described. The time has come for the press to re-publish this poem, and for the public voice to acknowledge, in its hero, the fulfilment of its grand idea. While the less faithful public servants, whose inefficiency has been rebuked by the prompt energy of Fremont, are intriguing to discredit and disgrace him, let the people everywhere shout their hearty recognition of him as their true leader in the path towards Freedom.

THE PASS OF THE SIERRA.

ALL night, above their rocky bed,
They saw the stars march slow;
The wild Sierra overhead,
The desert's death below.

The Indian from his lodge of bark,
The gray bear from his den,
Beyond their camp-fires' wall of dark
Glared on the mountain men.

Still upward turned, with anxious strain,
Their leader's sleepless eye,
Where splinters of the mountain chain
Stood black against the sky.

The night waned slow: at last, a glow,
A gleam of sudden fire,
Shot up behind the walls of snow,
And tipped each icy spire.

"Up, men!" he cried, "yon rocky comb,
To-day, please God, we'll pass,
And look from Winter's frozen home
On Summer's flowers and grass."

They sat their faces to the blast,
They trod th' eternal snow,
And faint, worn, bleeding, hailed at last
The promised land below.

Behind, they saw the snow-cloud tossed
By many an icy-horn;
Before, warm valleys wood-embossed,
And green with vines and corn.

They left the Winter at their backs,
To flap his baffled wing,
And downward, with the cataracts,
Leaped to the lap of Spring.

Strong leader of that mountain band!
Another task remains,
To break from Slavery's desert land
A path to Freedom's plains.

The winds are wild, the way is drear,
Yet, flashing through the night,
Lo! icy ridge and rocky spear
Blaze out in morning light!

Rise up, Fremont! and go before;
The Hour must have its Man;
Put on the hunting-shirt once more,
And lead in Freedom's van!

SLAVE-CATCHING IN THE ARMY.—The following paragraph is from the Washington correspondence of *The Tribune*, and was published on Wednesday:

"A private letter to a Baltimore journal, from Carrol County, Maryland, speaking of the recent expedition to Lower Maryland, says the presence of Col. Cowdin's Massachusetts Regiment has convinced the wavering that even Massachusetts men could march through our County without interfering with the slaves. 'I know of several instances,' the letter continues, 'where negroes seeking their camp were whipped and sent home.' How does the old Bay State relish having the soldiers apprenticed to this base business?"

The fact here stated may well well excite the deepest indignation and shame, not only in Massachusetts but throughout the North. This turning of Northern soldiers into slave-catchers, to say nothing of its wickedness, has done more than anything else to check enlistments and thus to weaken the power of the government. Even *The World*, which takes the part of the President against Fremont upon the question of giving freedom to the slaves of rebels, and which is supposed by many to reflect the views of the Administration more nearly than any other journal in New York, condemns this business of slave rendition. It says:

"As for the question of returning slaves that escape into our lines from those of the enemy, military necessity alone decides it. Not a man of them should be allowed to go back, whether his master demands him or not, or whether the slave himself is willing or not. This inexorable rule is our only security against black spies. Whatever be our duty to the slave, our duty to ourselves of itself settles the matter; and the sooner this is universally recognized by all our authorities, military and civil, the better. And we will say more. It will be an eternal disgrace to the sacred cause in which we are engaged, if we allow any slave who has been employed in its service, from whatever spot he may have come, or to whomever he may belong—to remain in bondage. He who helps save the sanctuary of freedom is entitled to an asylum within its walls. If he belongs to a rebel master, free him by confiscation; if to a loyal master, free him by purchase. In any case freedom is his right, by every consideration of justice and decency."

GARIBALDI FOR EMANCIPATION.—There have been rumors, from time to time, since the slaveholders' rebellion broke out, that the great leader of the party of freedom in Italy had offered, or was about to offer, his military services to this government. These rumors, however, all proved false. The following extract of a letter, "written authoritatively by one of Garibaldi's officers" and addressed to an English gentleman now in Washington, and which appears in the correspondence of *The Tribune*, explains more clearly the position of that eminent man:

"Repeated endeavors have been made to induce Garibaldi to go to North America, to aid in defending the Union. You can *positively contradict (avec certitude dementier)* those who assert that he will go there. *He will not go.*" [Then follow some allusions to the condition of European affairs, as restraining his departure, after which the letter continues]—"Beside this, even if Italy, Hungary and Poland were in the most flourishing state of independence and liberty, he would take no part in that struggle so long as the North failed to declare, formally, solemnly and irrevocably that it would not lay down its arms until slavery should be destroyed to its last vestige."

Among all the friends of republican liberty in Europe, there probably is not one that does not feel exactly as Garibaldi does in relation to the war in America. They see in our slavery not only the cause of the rebellion and the great crime and reproach of the nation, but one of the mightiest obstacles to the progress of freedom in the Old World. Can the North afford to reject the counsel, shock the moral sense, and provoke the contempt of such men?

BENNETT'S HERALD, which long since earned for itself the name of "Satanic Press," wants to have the editors of anti-slavery journals and the leaders of the anti-slavery movement sent to Fort Lafayette, to keep company with the Secession conspirators now in confinement there. Its ravings on this point, some of which will be found under our Pro-Slavery head on the first page, are characteristically edifying. The malignity of *The Herald*, in this instance, is fortunately counterbalanced by its impotency.

DR. CHEEVER'S DISCOURSE, on the fourth page, urging the Duty of Emancipation by the War Power, will command the attention of our readers. We regret to say that the Doctor was unable, by reason of illness, to appear in his pulpit last Sunday. He will, we trust, be able to preach to-morrow (Sunday) evening the discourse on slavery which so many were disappointed in not hearing last Sunday. He is absorbed as never before by his grand theme, and no friend of the cause should fail to hear him.

OBITUARY.

DEATH OF NATHAN WINSLOW, ESQ.

IN *The Liberator* of the 9th ultimo, we recorded the death of Dr. Amos Farnsworth, one of the earliest of the little Anti-Slavery band in Massachusetts. This week we are called to record the departure of NATHAN WINSLOW, Esq., of Portland (Me.), who died in that city, on Monday, Sept. 9th, after a brief illness, aged 76 years and 5 months. His hearty and fearless espousal of the Abolition movement covered a period of thirty years. In the early days of its fiery trials, especially, none was more zealous, more outspoken, or more generous with his means "to help the cause along," than himself. Although by birth and education a member of the Society of Friends (whose technical and outward trammels he subsequently transcended), his abhorrence of negro slavery was innate and uncompromising, and not the result of traditional training. Upon the altar of impartial freedom, he generously offered success in business, social standing, and whatever else it required at his hands. Always frank and courageous, he improved every opportunity to advocate the claims of the suffering bondman, and to rebuke the all-abounding pro-slavery spirit of the age. His cooperation was of great value in many ways, at the very time when most needed. For several years, the elegant hospitality of his home was freely extended to the advocates of the slave, and of other reforms; and many a fugitive slave found safety and succor under his roof.

No sooner was the first number of *The Liberator* issued, than he became, and continued to the close of life, a subscriber and patron—more than once preventing its suspension by his liberal assistance, and authorizing us to draw upon him at any time, in case of emergency, for the means to continue it. He was "a friend in need"—a fast and true friend—and, therefore, "a friend indeed." Our recollections of his kindness and hospitality are of the most pleasurable and grateful character. His removal, at a ripe age, is in the order of nature; but we feel the bereavement as though he had been our equal in years.

So—one by one—the early and long-tried friends of the still unpopular cause of the fettered slave are exchanging the perishable for the enduring—the transient for the permanent—the vestments of decay for the robes of immortality; and, at no distant day, they will all have finished their earthly course—thanking God, if not permitted to sing the song of jubilee on earth, that they were enabled to endure unto the end in the noblest of moral conflicts and most far-reaching of philanthropic enterprises.

"Baptized in blood for glorious deeds,
O'er falling thrones and flaming creeds,
The Martyr-Angels throng;
Through quickened minds and hearts below,
We hear their golden trumpets blow,
A fiery peal and long.

Give us, O Lord, our God, to be
The mediums of Divinity,
Like angels great and wise;
With them to labor and to wait
Till thou dost ope the morning gate,
And call us to the skies!"

—*Ed. Lib.*

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for October contains the usual variety, as follows: Near Oxford; Cyril Wilde; Crawford's Statues at Richmond (poem); Journal of a Privateersman, concluded; Concerning People of whom More might have been Made; My Friend's Library; The Name in the Bark (poem); Agnes of Sorrento, continued; A Night in a Wherry; A Story of To-Day—Part I.; Time's Household; What We are Coming to; Panic Terror; Our Country (poem); The Wormwood Cordial of History.

Among the contributors to this number the publishers announce the following names: Nathaniel Hawthorne, O. W. Holmes, Mrs. H. B. Stowe, Mrs. Julia Howe, C. C. Hazewell, "The Country Parson," I. T. Trowbridge, Walter Mitchell, D. A. Wasson. Boston: Ticknor and Fields.

THE REBELLION RECORD, First Monthly Part of the Second Volume (embracing 5 weekly numbers), is devoted entirely to the Battle of Bull Run, or Stone Bridge. It contains all the Official Reports both of the Union and the Rebel Army; Russell's Letters on the Battle to the London *Times*, with notes; Picturesque Narratives from Eye-witnesses; the Union Press on the Battle; the Secession Press on the Battle; the British Press on the Battle; Incidents, Anecdotes, Munchauseniana, rebel and otherwise; and a map of the Battlefield, prepared expressly for the work by Gen. Barry, U. S. A.

The concluding number of the First Volume, containing a full index, will be issued shortly.

Chronicles of the War.

Missouri—Rebel Victory at Lexington.

THE principal item of war news this week is of a very painful and mortifying character. Lexington, the chief town in the Western part of Missouri, and a point of great strategic importance, has fallen into the hands of the rebels, after a brave and bloody resistance by the Union troops under Col. Mulligan. The place is the capital of Lafayette County, contains a population of 5,000, and has direct water communication, in opposite directions, with St. Louis and Eastern Kansas. It is on the right bank of the Missouri river, 120 miles west of Jefferson City, and on the direct emigrant route to Santa Fé.

Col. Mulligan's force consisted of 3,500 men entrenched. He fought bravely four days against greatly superior numbers—the last half of the time without water. The rebels were led by Gen. Price. The loss on the Union side was 37 killed and 140 wounded; the rebel loss in killed and wounded about 800. The surrender of Col. Mulligan took place on Friday, the 20th. Much inquiry is making as to the whereabouts of the reënforcements stated to be on their way for several days to aid Mulligan. From the best authorities it appears that Lane, with a force variously estimated at from 2,000 to 5,000, was on Wednesday within forty miles of Lexington; four Indiana regiments, numbering 6,000, had gone from Jefferson City on Wednesday; Col. Sturges, with 3,000, was on his way from the northward; three regiments, together with some of the Missouri State Militia and Iowa State troops, 300 cavalry, and six pieces of artillery, left St. Joseph and Chillicothe at a date not stated; besides these, some troops, number unknown, had gone from St. Louis by two steamers. There have been, from day to day, rumors of the arrival at Lexington of some of these reënforcements, but it would seem that the reports were not correct.

There is a disposition, we see, in some quarters, to lay the blame of this disaster upon Gen. Fremont, but his friends affirm that he has been crippled constantly by orders from Washington—that several of the best regiments in his department were withdrawn at the critical moment, leaving him without a sufficient force for the work assigned him. We do not know where the responsibility for this disaster lies; but it is certainly disgraceful, after all that has been said of the number, courage, and enthusiasm of the Western troops, that there was not at Lexington a force sufficient to hold the place and expel the rebels from Western Missouri.

The extent of this calamity is seen in the following remarks of *The Times*:

"Col. Mulligan's entire army is paralyzed—annihilated, to speak more correctly—by its capture. The dispatches tell us that the officers have been held, and the men dismissed on *parole*. Their dismissal was a necessity, for the rebels were not able to feed them. But their *parole*, of course, binds them not to fight against the rebels; and so the services of these gallant men are lost to the country in the further prosecution of the war. And this is a terrible loss as matters now stand in Missouri. What else? Col. Mulligan had splendid fortifications. His patient soldiers had helped to raise them. The earthworks crowned a bluff, east of the city of Lexington, and overlooking the river. They were seven feet high, twelve thick, and heavily mounted. A ditch, six feet deep and twelve feet wide, surrounded the works on the outside. The works were calculated to entrench ten thousand men. Another and a smaller fortification was erected on the inside, with capacity for three thousand men. This admirable fortification had been made the receptacle of much valuable public property. Some accounts say that 2,000, some that 3,000 government horses and mules were within the works. Much embarrassment was given to Mulligan's devoted band by the presence of these animals, which with difficulty could be kept from stampeding as the firing progressed. But in addition to these horses and mules, there were said to be plenty of excellent arms and very large quantities of provisions and army stores also on hand. These are inestimable in value to the rebels, and they have clearly won and now possess them.

"But the crowning prize that goes into the hands of the rebel General, Price, and the traitor Governor, Claib. Jackson, is about $750,000 of money in the two banks at Lexington. The Farmers' Bank, of Missouri, is located at Lexington, and there is a branch of the State Bank there. Between the two there were near three quarters of a million dollars in specie, besides bills of the bank on hand. Rumors have been sent abroad that Col. Mulligan was able to smuggle this money out of his beleaguered camp, and send it to a place of safety. These reports are now contradicted. The money is lost.

"In property—fortifications ready built, horses and mules, stores, munitions of war, and money—the rebel army under Price have captured what can hardly be worth to them less than $2,000,000. In the annihilation of Mulligan's splendid little army, they have destroyed what cost fully $2,000,000 more; and seized advantages that $5,0000,000 will hardly dispossess them of. The money loss of the Lexington disaster to the National government, cannot fall much short of $10,000,000. But what is this loss, severe and untimely as it is to the loss of honor, prestige and vantage-ground to the Union cause in the State of Missouri?"

According to our latest authentic advices from St. Louis, Gen. Fremont, with some twenty-one thousand men, was preparing to march from that city to the defence of Jefferson city, the State capital, and with the view of assailing the rebel Gen. Price in the rear. In this movement Fremont will be supported by the command of Major Sturgis on the North side of the Missouri, by Hunter's command from Rolla, and by other detachments which will probably increase the Union forces to forty thousand men.

It is stated that a fight occurred at Mariatown, Mo., on Tuesday, the 17th inst., between 600 national troops under Cols. Montgomery and Johnston, and 400 rebels; the latter were completely routed, with the loss of seven killed; 100 horses and all their tents and supplies were captured. On our side we had a serious loss, in the death of Col. Johnston, who fell pierced with nine balls; we also lost two privates and had six wounded.

At Blue Mills Landing, on the Mississippi River, on the 17th inst., a desperate fight took place between 500 of the First Iowa Regiment, under Lieut.-Col. Scott, and about 4,000 of the rebels. After an hour's fighting, Col. Scott retired slowly and in good order. Afterward Col. Smith's command came to his aid, but night fell before fighting could be renewed; when morning again came the enemy had retired, and there was no one to strive against. In this engagement Lieut. Scott lost five men, eighty-four wounded, and six missing.

From Kentucky.

Gen. Robert Anderson, of Fort Sumter memory, has taken his place as commander of the Union forces in Kentucky, and issued a proclamation in which he says: "No true son of Kentucky can longer hesitate as to his duty to his State and country. The invaders must, and, God willing, will, be expelled. The leader of the hostile forces, who now approaches, is, I regret to say, a Kentuckian, making war on Kentucky and Kentuckians. Let all past differences of opinion be overlooked. Every one who now rallies to the support of our Union and our State is a friend. Rally, then, my countrymen, around the flag our fathers loved, and which has shielded us so long. I call you to arms for self-defence and for the protection of all that is dear to freemen. Let us trust in God and do our duty as did our fathers."

The rebels hold Bowling Green and some other important points, and evince no disposition to retire. There is reason to fear that Kentucky may once more become "the dark and bloody ground." Much of what professes to be Unionism in that State is tinctured with sympathy for the rebels, and anxious above all things for the preservation and perpetuity of slavery; and the efforts of the Administration to conciliate this sentiment have had a most depressing effect all through the North.

John C. Breckinridge, ex-Vice President, has made his escape to the South, doubtless fearing arrest.

Panic in the Seceded States.

The Philadelphia *Press* says:

"Late information, upon which we can rely, authorizes us to state that a general panic has taken place in the seceded States since Monday last. The preparations of the Federal government to seize certain important posts on the Southern coast, and the unprotected character of that coast, are among the chief reasons for this rapidly increasing feeling.

"Davis and the Confederate traitors having failed in their absurd demonstration upon Washington (which was, in fact, never real), are now losing the confidence of the troops gathered between Richmond and the Federal capital, and are daily attacked with the utmost bitterness by the people they have seduced into their conspiracy. It is a fact which events will soon establish, that *thousands now in the rebel army are anxious to be taken prisoners by the American army*, in order that they may be rescued from the fearful horrors under which they are suffering. Nothing prevents an outburst in favor of the Union in North Carolina, save the invasion of that State by the South Carolina troops; and such men as Holden and Morehead will undoubtedly speak out against the traitors the moment they feel strong enough to do so.

"Every dollar of gold and silver is caught up and hid away, and merchants and tradesmen only part with their goods for the paper of the Confederated government, and of the different State authorities, because they are compelled to yield."

"SABLE CLOUDS."

RECRUITING.—We learn from the daily papers that recruiting goes on slowly. There is little doubt that the Lincoln *vs.* Fremont letter will cause it to go on slower still. We know that one proposed regiment in this city, which in a few days had enrolled more than two hundred men, disbanded in disgust on reading the reënslavement letter of the President.—*Anglo-African.*

STAMPEDE OF NEGROES.—There was a stampede of negroes, 14 in number, men, women and children, in the neighborhood of Lewinsville, Va., on the 16th inst. They came to our lines seeking protection, saying they were to have been sent to Manassas that morning. Gen. Smith sent them to Washington. They belonged to the estate of the late Commodore Jones. They stated that they left at their home only a daughter of the Commodore, her mother having departed some time ago for Manassas Junction.

ESCAPED SLAVES ON THE POTOMAC.—No list of escaped slaves having been kept here as at Fortress Monroe, the precise number is unattainable. According to the estimate of military authorities, however, about 200, who ran from rebel Virginians, are now practically free men. Of these, some are working on entrenchments or elsewhere, some have disappeared. The number returned to Virginians or Marylanders professing loyalty, is not ascertained.—*Wash. Cor. Tribune.*

Six contrabands from Maryland came in yesterday (Sunday), and were confined in jail by order of Gen. McClellan, to await the claim of their masters.—*Wash. Cor. Times.*

SETTING FREE.—The Missouri correspondent of *The Tribune* says: Six companies of troops from Cape Girardeau made a march to Benton recently, seizing property in accordance with Fremont's proclamation. They also gave liberty to a number of slaves. Ten belonging to Gen. Watkins, formerly a representative in the Legislature, but now a Brigadier in the rebel army, were among the number set free. Of course they were glad to be set at liberty. One of them said he "had been wondering Fremont hadn't done so befo'." They were engaged at fair wages as servants to the officers, and all seemed pleased and dignified by their new position.

GEN. WOOL AND THE CONTRABAND NEGROES.—Maj. Cannon of Gen. Wool's staff arrived to-night with dispatches. Gen. Wool wants to know what to do with the negroes, upward of 2,000 of whom are now at Fortress Monroe. The President's order amending Gen. Fremont's proclamation sets the whole question afloat again as regards negroes not directly employed in rebel service who may seek protection within our lines. Gen. Wool is ordered to send to Washington all whom he can spare—the men to be put on the entrenchments, and the women in the camp kitchens to be paid for their services. Beside 2,000 at the fort, there are ten or fifteen on each of our men-of-war which sail from Hampton Roads, who get $8 a month and found.—*Wash. Cor. Tribune.*

SLAVE-CATCHING IN THE ARMY.—Several of our army officers persist in the bad habit of catching fugitive slaves and returning them to their masters. This is not only without warrant of law, but is in direct violation of the will of Congress as expressed in its recent session. It is very difficult to learn whence the order emanates. Some lay it to the President, others to Gen. McClellan, and others still to Secretary Cameron. The probability is that such acts are unauthorized, but that the War Department dislikes to issue an order prohibiting it. If it was necessary to force Fremont to comply exactly with the Confiscation Act, the question is asked here, why is not the government equally anxious to regard the will of Congress in another respect, when it chances to favor the liberty of the slave? It is a fact that fugitive slaves are continually arrested and returned to their masters by our officers, and that, too, without receiving any rebuke from the President or War Department.—*Wash. Cor. Evening Post.*

PENINSULAR COUNTIES OF MARYLAND.—The prompt occupation of the peninsular Counties between the Chesapeake and the Potomac by the government troops, and of the Eastern shore Counties, must eventuate in bringing back those regions to their senses and loyalty. At all events, the effort is worth making, and if it does not succeed it will then be for the government to try what virtue there is in bringing the act of confiscation to bear against the slaves of the resistants. We have 95,000 free blacks in this State now, and the addition of a few thousand more to the number, even to the extinction of the institution, not only will do no harm to Maryland, but a vast deal of good. It will be removing one of the roots of the cancer from the body politic, that, perhaps, can never be eradicated in any other way. Public opinion in this State is rapidly converging to this point, and if the government only knew to what extent the policy of Gen. Fremont is approved in this State and city, Gen. McClellan would apply it at once to the rebels of Maryland. Let that be done, and there would be no further need of the military occupation of our soil.—*Balt. Cor. Tribune.*

THE ARMY AND THE SLAVES IN WESTERN VIRGINIA.—*Headquarters, District of Grafton, Grafton, Va., Sept. 7, 1861.* [*General Order, No. 7.*] The General Commanding desires to reassure the people of Western Virginia, that it is the desire and intention of the United States government, to give to the citizens full and ample protection in all their civil and political rights, and that private property, of whatever character or description, shall be held inviolate.

In order to secure to the owners of slaves the most ample protection that can be given, as well as to protect the Baltimore and Ohio railroad from loss and damage under its charter, it is expressly prohibited for any officer or soldier to transport, or cause to be transported, over the lines of the Baltimore and Ohio and North Western Virginia railroads, any black or mulatto person, the same being a slave, unless owned by such officer or soldier, or transported by permission of the owner.

This order is not to be construed to prohibit officers from travelling over the above roads with their private servants, provided such servants are free, or if slaves, properly hired from their owners.

Any person in the United States service violating the above order, will be severely punished. By command of BRIG. GEN. KELLEY.

GEO. H. CROSSMAN, Jr., Asst. Adj't General.

A SLAVE'S VIEW OF THE BULL RUN FIGHT.—The Metropolitan Assembly Rooms, at 178 Prince street, were filled with quite a large audience last evening, to listen to the recital of what "William, an escaped Virginia slave," knew and had seen of the Bull Run fight. Mr. John Jones, who aided William in escaping North, gave a brief account of the manner in which this was effected, concluding by introducing William to the audience.

William began by stating that since his birth he had been the slave of three masters, the last one being, as he stated, a commissioned officer in the rebel army. He gave a graphic account of the condition of things when he left Virginia, the most startling fact being that the masters on some of the plantations had resolved to poison or starve their slaves rather than have them fall into the hands of the Yankees. He stated that one of the slave-owners had ninety-eight hands, to whom he gave one sheep as a week's rations of food. In relation to the Bull Run fight, he stated that the day after the battle two hundred slaves, who went as servants to the officers, were busy in carrying off and burying the dead, and that the exact number of killed was unknown; but the slaves were kept to work on the field every day until the stench was intolerable. He gave also some interesting particulars relative to an agreement made among the slaves that they would turn upon their masters at the first moment when the near approach of the Federalists would make such a matter in the least degree practicable. William spoke about an hour, and was attentively listened to throughout.—*N. Y. World, 21st.*

THE CONTRABANDS AT FORTRESS MONROE.—The correspondent of *The Tribune*, writing from Fortress Monroe Sept. 19, says: A somewhat anomalous circumstance lies in the fact that the Spaulding took down a detail of "contraband" negroes, in charge of a sergeant to labor at Fort Hatteras. It is to be hoped that the rebels will not be alarmed, though we may expect that they will raise the cry that Gen. Wool is engaged in "running negroes off South."

Properly directed and systematically detailed and disciplined, the negroes now working for the government here perform a great deal of labor, and are considered superior for most descriptions of work to any other class of laborers. They do pretty much everything that white laborers are expected to perform, and are coming to be preferred not only as quite as productive, but as more cheerful and willing. It is not to be disguised, however, that a consciousness of their importance crops out now and then in their bearing and conversation. On the whole, however, the commendation of the "contraband" is universal and hearty. Their future condition is frequently discussed among themselves. They do not appear to have any settled idea about it, any further than that there is no immediate prospect of their being restored to their former owners. Now and then one appears a little concerned with the stories he heard from his late master, and braved in the running away, that the Yankees when they were through building fortifications would take the negroes to Cuba. This and all other questions in their minds soon yield to the present feeling of satisfaction consequent on the novelty attending their changed condition, and in having enough to eat, "rain or shine."

In view of the approach of the cold season, Quartermaster Tallmadge is preparing to construct buildings to be used by the negroes as quarters. A building or barracks will be erected capable of giving accommodation to about 1,000 persons, which is about the number that the government has under its protection at the present moment, though the number has been stated to be much larger. It is an undoubted fact that the number would be many times greater did the slaves in the surrounding country possess the will or the energy to take the freedom that is virtually offered to them; for, virtually, the matter rests with themselves, and they either do not wish to be free or have not the energy and manhood requisite to make the small effort necessary. By the women I have frequently heard the wish expressed that they might return to their old places. Probably nowhere in the slave States have owners fed and clothed their slaves so well, and at the same time worked them so little, as in the lower part of Virginia; and this may, to some extent, account for the apparent indifference alluded to. Not a few of the slaves that have come in assert that their masters ran away first, leaving them to take care of themselves, that is, work the farms, raise the pork, and gather the crops. Some, rather than do this, ran away and came where they would be cared for—with others it was a bold stroke for freedom, and it is this class that came the furthest, and ran the greatest risks. I am inclined to think that the disposition of the slaves to "rise" has been considerably magnified, and that it remains to be proved that the sense of security professed by the slaveholders is not based on a better understanding of the real character of the negro.

SLAVES IN COL. LA DUE'S CAMP.—A letter in *The Herald* from the army on the upper Potomac contains the following:

Slaves are rapidly leaving their masters and crossing the river at the peril of their lives, both from the enemy's and our own pickets. Eleven are already in Col. La Due's camp, some of whom have travelled over a hundred and fifty miles to reach here. A family—a man, woman and infant child—are among the recent arrivals. They carried with them a box containing necessaries, which seems to have been heavy enough to have staggered a horse. Some of these contrabands are adopted as servants by the officers of the Thirty-fourth, and they are quite snug and appear quite contented with their new quarters. Their excuse for running away is that they were threatened to be sent to Manassas, and rather than go further South they preferred taking a trip to the North. The universal complaint among the slaves is the want of salt. Their bacon, to which they have from birth been accustomed, has been seized by the army, and although they have plenty of fresh beef, it does not suit them. The slaves have delicate appetites, sometimes. One of the colored family who has recently come within the household of Col. La Due is a likely and intelligent boy, called Dick, lately the property of Tom Vielle and brothers, who have a farm about three miles from the river. Dick wants to learn to read and write. He is twenty-four years old, ripe for learning, and will probably make an excellent colored preacher. The following is a catalogue of a portion of the "chattels" that have embraced the Union flag under Col. La Due:

1, 2 and 3. Addison and Lucinda Phillips, with infant eleven weeks old. Belonged to Charles Turley; recently hired out to George Doyle, on a farm about a mile and a half back from the river. Addison says he ran away because times were getting hard. There was no salt, no bacon. The white folks said they'd all starve before long if they didn't get Alexandria. They didn't know what else they could do. On crossing the river in a skiff, the Thirty-fourth Pickets fired upon Addison and family, not knowing their color or purpose. The bullets whizzed over their heads, when Addison cried aloud, was understood, and safely landed and housed. He was inquiring for more blankets when last heard from this morning. This family was worth from $2,500 to $3,000 a few months ago.

4. Negro man called Jim, also property of the Vielles; thirty years old; wants a new set of teeth.

5. Jake, likely boy, nineteen years old; property of Elijah Marshall, Farquhar County, Va.; travelled 150 miles.

6. Eli, negro man, twenty-six years old; belonged to Jake Rice, Virginia farmer.

7. George, fifty years old; property of the Vielles; a smart old darkey, and makes himself very much at home in camp.

The remaining contrabands are from different farms on the Virginia side. One of them has the shakes. Each of these contrabands draws a ration a day from Uncle Sam. Among other things told the Virginia darkies to make them abhor the Northerners is, that if they are caught they will be sent to Cuba to dig guano. The negroes handle a good deal of the article on the Virginia farms, and they do not like it very well.

VARIOUS FACTS AND INCIDENTS.

Last week a steamer from Fortress Monroe, with a company of troops on board, ran down to Ocracoke Inlet and destroyed the fortifications which the rebels had abandoned. It is reported that the rebels have assembled at Washington and Newbern, and that 2,000 of them had landed on Roanoke Island, with the design of destroying the Lighthouse and the dwellings of the Unionists there.

A deserter from the rebel army, just arrived in Washington, says that Beauregard has 185,000 men under him; that they are well fed, well shod, well clothed, that they are regularly paid, and in excellent health and spirits. On the other hand, a person described as a most intelligent man, just from Manassas, states that the rebel army is demoralized, that great numbers of them are leaving for their homes in the Gulf States, and that they have not even force enough to defend themselves from our attack, to say nothing of moving on Washington.

Deserters from the rebel army in Virginia come into Fortress Monroe in great numbers, risking their lives for the sake of escaping from a hated bondage. They unite in declaring that the condition of the rebel forces at Sewall's Point, Norfolk, and other places in that section is deplorable, hunger pinching them and sickness cutting them off. Hundreds of them are said to be waiting with anxious desire the coming of the National forces to free them from their disheartening position.

The officers recently released upon parole at Richmond give gloomy accounts of the treatment of the Union prisoners, and particularly the wounded. They represent that the wounded, who are under the care of the rebel surgeons, are most infamously maltreated. Amputations and capital operations are performed where there is not the slightest need for them, and nearly all of these operations result fatally to the victims of the carelessness and cruelty of the rebel sur

THE STANDARD.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

FREMONT FOREVER!

FREMONT has spoken! Wide speeds the word:
"Rebels are shot; their slaves are Freemen!"
Fremont has spoken! The Gulf has heard;
Her traitors stagger like drunken seamen.
Fremont forever!

The North has heard! and her ancient hills
Toss back the sound from ocean to ocean,
And up from the heart of the people swells
The tidal wave of a grand emotion!
Fremont forever!

Oftener the banker spares his gold;
The face of the lonely wife grows brighter;
The farmer recks not of cheese unsold;
And the soldier grasps his rifle tighter!
Fremont forever!

The thrill of a holy purpose peels
The film of self from their blinded eyes—
Heaven's Angel, LIBERTY, reveals
In the dread War-Angel's thin disguise.
Fremont forever!

Who murmurs now, while all rejoice?
Stamps with his heel on a deed undying?
Lends to the bloodhound's bay his voice?
And stops his ears to the people's crying—
"Fremont forever"?

Oh fool and blind! the golden morn,
That might your statesman's brow have gilded,
Has passed, and ages yet unborn
Shall stone the tomb your madness builded.
Fremont forever!

Oh brave young man whose heart hath leapt
A league beyond its sluggish keeper,
Fear not! nor dream that God has slept
While man has bound his Harvest-Reaper.
Trust the! thou still art Œdipus,
Our guilty riddle to unravel;
Still the Pathfinder unto us,
Through Rocky Mounts of toil and travail!
Fremont forever!

Boston, Sept. 17, 1861. L. S. N.

THE VOICE OF CHRISTIAN ENGLAND TO AMERICA.

Emancipation by the War Power a Duty and a Necessity.

A DISCOURSE,

BY REV. GEORGE B. CHEEVER, D.D.,

Delivered in the Church of the Puritans, New York, on Sunday Evening, Sept. 15, 1861.

Israel hath sinned, and they have also transgressed my covenant which I commanded them; for they have even taken of the accursed thing, and have also stolen, and dissembled also, and they have put it even among their own stuff. Therefore, the children of Israel could not stand before their enemies, but turned their backs before their enemies, because they were accursed; neither will I be with you any more except ye destroy the accursed from among you—*Joshua* vii, 11, 12.

IN the whole current of what is called profane history, I doubt if there has ever been a series of events that of themselves more directly claim the application of this Scripture, than the history and present crisis of our own war. The coat not only fits, but the juncture takes it and puts it on. Had it been cut out and seamed and sewed for ourselves, it could not have been more pertinent.

Yet I doubt whether I should have chosen it for the introduction of our theme to-night, had it not been for the providence which has commended it to me. I had set down in my note book the 13th verse of this chapter, as a passage through which I would immediately speak to my countrymen, as God might give me opportunity, "Up, sanctify the people, and say, Sanctify yourselves against to-morrow: for thus saith the Lord God of Israel, *There* is an accursed thing in the midst of thee, O Israel: thou canst not stand before thine enemies, until ye take away the accursed thing from among you." But on the occasion of presenting, as I wished to do, some account of the phases of public and Christian opinion and conviction in Great Britain in regard to us, and at the first address on this subject after a year's absence, I hesitated about opening so direct a broadside as that contained in this passage; and I was consequently inquiring for some other telegraphic office or station in God's Word through which I might communicate a more round-about message, when I found in the post office a letter from England occasioned by the reception there of the news of the defeat at Bull Run, and telling me that it was strongly desired by friends in England that I should preach on Joshua vii: 11. This put an end to my perplexity, by giving me my text through the intimations of the Christian consciousness of others, in communication with this divine telegraph, there being, as there always is, a combination of the Word, the Spirit and the Providence of God, in this intercourse, which is at the command of every one of us, between ourselves and heaven. For God vouchsafes to us such a discipline, and condescends to grant such intercourse in his Word.

And as I was seeking for some passage through which to convey the voice of Christian England to America, what could I do better, than take the very suggestion of the heart and conscience of a Christian friend, sincerely attached to this country as well as to his own, and well fitted to personify and express the feeling of British Christianity and fellowship in regard to us? For it is the voice of Christian sentiment and kindness with the utterance of which I am charged, and not of political bitterness and prejudice. It is to state what I know of the deep Christian sympathy and anxiety in Great Britain on our behalf, and not what the newspapers record and reiterate of insolence or sarcasm on either side. And here the offer of this text from across the water is very striking, as undoubtedly presenting the very point through which the whole electric feeling of the British people—I mean the Christian conviction and feeling—at the moment of our recent defeat, could be intensified and flashed upon us. The parallel as to our guilt is not perfect, because ours is so much greater. It would be perfect, if it had been found in the case of Achan's sin, that that stealing and hiding of idolatrous chattels had been carried on under authority from Joshua himself and the princes of the nation. If Achan could have produced an order under the Constitution as interpreted by Joshua for taking possession of all that stuff and holding it to be returned to the owners, for the reconstruction of their idolatry after the war, that would have shown that his guilt was that of his commanders and of the very magistracy of the nation, in fact of the nation itself. Now that is precisely our guilt in hiding and shielding the great accursed thing in this rebellion. While doing this, we are carrying on the war in such manner that the South shall be conquered only that she may hold her slaves more securely *in* the Union than *out* of it. And it enables me to plunge at once into the middle of my subject, as suggesting the very reason why the sympathies of Great Britain, and I may add of all Europe, have not been more directly and positively on our side, as well as against the Southern slave-trading Confederacy. It is just because, so long as we maintain our own sanction of slavery and complicity therewith, we ourselves effectually repress and prevent that sympathy, by setting the Christian conscience of the world against us. If that conscience is against the slave-trading Confederacy, as indeed it is, because they have impiously set slavery as the corner-stone of their intended empire, and the vital law and force of their rebellion, it is also and inevitably against ourselves, if we likewise maintain the sanction of slavery, and go against the Southern rebellion only because we will endure no divided empire, and are determined not simply that slavery shall not be an independency by itself, but that it shall quit its rebellion against ourselves, and submit to be an integral part of our own rebellion against God, shall submit to the formula of "the Union and slavery." It is just because this seems to be the war-cry of the patriotism of our government and people at this time, "*The Union and slavery*," that the sympathy of British Christianity is chilled in regard to us, and turned into rebuke. We have taken of the accursed thing, and hid it among our stuff, the very wedges of gold out of the tents of our enemies we have claimed as ours. Our firmest friends in all Europe desire to see us as a nation honoring God in abolishing slavery. That is the best possible sympathy. Their sympathy is well shown in Christian remonstrance and rebuke. Faithful are the wounds of a friend, but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful.

The Israelites were going forth to battle against idolators, but coveted and stole and hid in their own tents the garments and goods of their enemies, that God had commanded them to destroy. This is a symbol of our own guilt, only that ours is greater than theirs, because it is a *crime* of our enemies that we have hidden and protected, and while going against them, we are still maintaining that crime, as a thing to be spared. Our conduct is much like that of Saul, in his disobedience of God, when he spared Agag the great rebel, and the best of the stuff, and the prophet Samuel had to step in and execute for God the war measure that Saul had refused, in hewing Agag to pieces before the Lord. Now, our Saul ought to hew the Agag of this rebellion, its slavery, and bury the carcass where it never shall rise again. God has given him the power. But if he will not do it, alas, there seems to be no Samuel in our camp or nation. There ought to be. Some blows have been struck in the right direction by some of our commanders, but the prophets of the Lord are still conservatives, and our Samuel says, Put off the hewing of Agag in pieces to the last moment. Do not obey God in such an extreme measure, until you are compelled to do it. Conquer the rebellion first. It will lose us Kentucky if we obey God.

But, my friends, if we make peace with slavery for the purpose of putting down this rebellion and reëstablishing the Union, what we reëstablish will simply be a controversy with God, and the insurance of his judgments against ourselves. And as to the Union, we had better have half a loaf of pure bread, than a whole loaf filled with the poison of this demoralizing arsenic. Let us obey God. First pure, then peaceable. There can be no peace, there must be none, till this rebellion against God is put down.

It is our rebellion, as well as that of the Confederacy, so long as we refuse to strike at the heart of it. And God's Churches, and our own friends, all over the world, are looking at us with amazement and deep sorrow, because of our continued endurance and sanction of this iniquity.

In Scotland, in England, in Ireland, I have found, with some exceptions, the whole Christian heart of the people sympathizing for us and with us, and filled with the intensest abhorrence of this slave-breeding, slave-torturing, slave-mongering Confederacy. The only thing that prevents this tide of sympathy from being universal is the complicity of our own selves in the support and protection of slavery. The cotton morality of Manchester is not our friend, and a selfish political or commercial jealousy never can be our friend; but I have heard that selfish morality rebuked as bitterly and sternly in Great Britain as you ever heard it here; and were our complicity with slavery out of the way, the traitors against our country both here and in Europe would be deprived of all their power, and of nearly all sympathy. It is through this evil that the enemies of Republican institutions and of freedom work, both in this country and in Europe, and if we would hang these envious and conspiring Hamans, it must be by hanging slavery on the gallows that they have prepared for Mordecai. And just so, if we would deprive this rebellion of its power, and crush it suddenly and forever, we must, in going forth to war against it at God's command, clear away all the stolen stuff of slavery out of our own tents, and morally, if not physically, burn the Achans. All our paltering and dissembling about the Constitution, loading it as gigantic gamblers with the dice of slavery, all our stolen contrabands, as we call them, hidden under our stuff, to be still marked as merchandise when the war is over, all our compacts and coquetries with the treason of our enemies against God and humanity in the sanction of their claim of property in man, must be renounced, if we would have God's blessing.

And then and thus, we should be sure of the sympathy, not of Great Britain only, but of all Europe, all the world. But so long as we ignore the rights of four millions of slaves, and refuse to make their emancipation one of our objects, so long as we are seen endeavoring only to crush the rebellion against ourselves, but at the same time preserving its central feature and spring of slavery as a constitutional right to be protected and set again in the reconstructed Union, preserving its cruelty, inhumanity, and impiety against God and against the poor slaves, what is our attitude, and how can we expect sympathy, except from slaveholders? Towards England and Europe we turn ourselves and say, Give us your sympathy, for ours is a holy conflict, we are fighting the battle of the ages, for freedom, for humanity, for mankind, for governmental right, against the hugest, most diabolical rebellion the world ever saw, against the rebellious South, who are fighting for slavery. Towards the South we turn ourselves and say, Down with your rebellion; we do not object to your slavery, we have never interfered with that, and we do not mean to interfere, you may keep that, and if you will return to your allegiance, we will help you to keep it; but down with your rebellion; you must keep your slavery under and within the Union.

I, for one, am sufficiently a patriot to be ashamed of this attitude, and to bear my testimony against it, and solemnly to rebuke it in the name of God. In his name we demand emancipation, not merely as an obligation and benevolence to the enslaved, but as our own right, because we know it to be our only salvation. We demand it, in behalf of our country, and in the name of God we declare those to be the grand traitors against our country who refuse it. The only treason that can now destroy our country is the obstinate refusal of this measure of righteousness and justice, and this measure is the only one that can save the country.

It is out of fervent love to my country that I thus speak, and always have spoken, and, God helping me, always shall speak. It is in defence of my country and of freedom for ourselves and for mankind that I have spoken in Europe, as in America, against this most atrocious conspiracy and rebellion, this Confederacy of the powers of hell. To the people and government of England I have said, Say ye not a Confederacy, acknowledge it not, but exclude it from the family of nations; but equally out of love to my country I have added, and now add, the other part of that divine injunction, Sanctify the Lord of Hosts for yourselves, and make Him your sanctuary and defence forever. It is the failure to do this, that if we do it not, will ruin us. And it requires more true patriotism and Christian courage now to press God's claims against slavery, and God's rebukes because we are still sanctioning slavery, than it does merely to drive onward in this most righteous effort to annihilate the Confederacy and crush this dreadful rebellion against ourselves.

We must not lose sight of the fact that this war is God's, against slavery. He has given us the means of putting an end to slavery by it. He has commissioned us to go against our enemies and his, for this purpose. If we disobey him, and let slavery go, we shall be more guilty than Ahab, when he let go out of his hand a tyrant whom God had appointed to utter destruction. And if we do not speedily repent, and perform our duty, there will come to us God's announcement, Thus saith the Lord, Because thou hast let go out of thy hand a man whom I had appointed to utter destruction, therefore thy life shall go for his life, and thy people for his people.

This would be a dreadful but a deserved judgment. We have done things that must be undone, and have as yet left undone the great business of God. We have taken some steps that cannot but be commented upon abroad to our injury. We have laid hold upon human beings, who had every way as good a right to their freedom as any man in the United States, and proclaimed them under military and United States law as articles of property, to be held for their owners. We have taken men and proclaimed them as fugitives, and volunteered to return them without even the process which the law requires, under which it is asserted that the degrading crime of returning a fugitive is a constitutional duty. There never was, even by torture of the boots and thumb-screws of slavery applied to our Constitution, any pretence that fugitives could be arrested by any power unless escaping from one State into another State, and not even then, unless the pretended owner of such fugitive presented his claim and personally proved it. But our government has been seen, since this war broke out, arresting fugitive slaves by proclamation, and returning them, or keeping them for their owners, without so much as the appearance of their owners, or any claim of ownership, or even attempted escape from one State into another. What is the power by which these proclamations have been issued? None whatever but a military power, and the same power that issued directions as to the treatment of fugitives could have added the direction that they should all be set free. But the monstrosity has been witnessed of our government, our military leaders, volunteering an authority over fugitives no where conferred by the Constitution, but exercising that authority to declare them articles of property, when it has refused to exercise the same authority to declare them freemen. The government and the military authorities have no legitimate power over them whatever, any more than over so many white men, unless in cases where masters professing a title to their services appear and claim them, and then only according to law, and no more claim over blacks than whites. Yet the same government that refuses to proclaim liberty undertakes to proclaim slavery, by seizing upon all black men making their appearance, and holding them as contraband articles of property, or if confiscated and set free as being the property of rebels, yet held to be returned if being the property of loyalists. Slavery is thus proclaimed as a right for those who are in allegiance to the United States government, and a wrong only for those in rebellion against it. The right of slavery and protection of slave property is even held out as a bribe to induce rebel States and masters to return to their allegiance. The fearful anomaly has been intruded upon us of a military power becoming the interpreter of the Constitution, and that for the purpose not of freedom, but of slavery. Do we not see the danger to ourselves, as well as the crime against God? How dare the Secretary of War undertake to apply the contested article about persons held to service as meaning slaves, and assume the power of executing it in that meaning, when, in whatever sense it be taken, it has no possible application, and never can be rightfully executed, but only in cases of persons escaping from one State into another State, and then only on the claim of the pretended master in person? And every case of such escape from a State in rebellion against the government to a State in allegiance to it, would be a case of loyalty and obedience to the government demanding to be protected and rewarded. Judge Taney's perversion of our Constitution was atrocious enough, even under the forms of a judicial tribunal; but this assignment of the quality and condition of slavery to whole classes of men by governmental proclamation, is a sheer military usurpation, without even a pretence of the form of right, or the excuse of military necessity. And unless this iniquity be cut through and through, by the only proclamation that we can rightfully make, that of liberty, all our rights and liberties will go by the board. The same power that dares proclaim any person a slave, could proclaim, and ought to proclaim, the sacredness of every person born in this country as impossible to be a slave, or to be treated as such. It only needs the same courage in a right cause that our enemies and the enemies of the human race have exhibited in a wicked cause. Such a proclamation is that which God requires, and that which we demand in God's name, and in the name of humanity. And if the President of the United States would but use his legitimate power in the national proclamation of such a principle, he would exalt his country, and place his name higher among its benefactors than even Washington's. And here let me note a duty to make this the subject not only of petitions to the President and the Congress, but of prayers to God, that he would so influence the mind and so enlighten and constrain the conscience and the heart of the President, as to compel him into the performance of this glorious act. Let it not be said of our President as it has sometimes been said of ministers of the Gospel, that he failed in his sermon because he had lost his prayer-book. The Christian people of this country who see eye to eye in this matter, ought to bear the President onward in such a manner with their prayers, as to make him God's gapman to strike this blow. "The people of the land have used oppression and exercised robbery, and have vexed the poor and needy, yea, they have oppressed the stranger wrongfully, and I sought for a man among them that should make up the hedge, and stand in the gap before me for the land, that I should not destroy it." Let God find such a gapman, such a savior of his country, put forward, forced forward, on the shield and in the arms of our prayers in the person of our President, uttering this watch-word, unrolling this banner, at the command of God, and speaking out what is the voice of the whole heart of the country longing to be spoken, Freedom to all the inhabitants of the land! Then will God be honored, and we shall be justified and pardoned, and the rebellion will instantly be subdued and our country saved. And President Lincoln's name and memory would go down to posterity as that of the second father of his country, and the emancipator of four millions.

The measure that we propose, the measure that will save the country, is one of justice and security to all parties. Inasmuch as in most of the rebellious States there are large bodies of the people who have been dragooned by force and terror into this rebellion, let it be announced, along with the proclamation of freedom, that all who will at once return to their allegiance shall be compensated for the freedom of their slaves, and their other property restored to them, while all the property of those remaining in rebellion is confiscated. This would be magnanimous and generous as well as just. The effect of such a proclamation would be almost instantaneous. It would break up the whole Confederate army by the necessity of returning homewards to watch their plantations and their human stock, and it would afford points, encouragements, and opportunities for the centralization, vitality, and safety of the Union party, showing itself and assuming power in every State. The rebellion would be broken, and the means of sustaining it would be quite taken away.

The measure has become a *sine qua non* of patriotism, a military and governmental necessity, for the crushing of the rebellion, and the preservation of the country from destruction, and no man, without being a traitor to his country, can resist it. For this purpose, if we will receive the mercy, God has given us this war. Without the war, as things are, there would have been no possibility of such deliverance, and God has permitted this Confederate rebellion to rush into the midst of this Red Sea, and there on either side of their hosts rise up the toppling crested billows, waiting for the word from us for the outstretched rod of our Moses to overwhelm them. And still we are adding to all our other rebellion against God the refusal to obey him in this thing. We stand shivering before this demanded act of nobleness and virtue, as if it were some great crime.

And here I come to another thing that chills the sympathy of Europe in regard to us, and constitutes a mystery that they cannot explain. They have been accustomed to hear from all our pro-slavery apologists the answer in regard to slavery, that it was a constitutional obligation, and there was no possibility of breaking away from it without destroying the Union. This was entirely false, but let it pass. Now, then, the crisis has come, in which the Union is broken up by slavery itself, and the Constitution defied and trampled on and thrown to the winds, and it is admitted on all hands that we are set entirely free from all these pretended obligations to regard slavery as a constitutional right, and that by the war power, as one of our greatest statesmen, John Quincy Adams, long ago demonstrated, we have a perfect right to abolish slavery all over the land, as the cause and the maintaining power of this rebellion. And yet, even in this crisis, we not only hesitate, but refuse to exercise this power, to perform this duty. We still cling to slavery, still return fugitive slaves. One commander only has proclaimed freedom, and he only in one of the States that has not seceded, and only for the slaves of rebels, still maintaining the intention of the government and the army to maintain slavery, and crush the rebellion by means of this differential tariff, rebellion to be punished by the loss of slave property, loyalty to be rewarded by the security of slave property. They see all this in Europe, and see with what apparent unwillingness we bend to the necessity of freedom, as a bullock is drawn to the slaughter. They see that we ignore and despise the rights of the slaves, and assure all the world that when the rebellion is subdued the slaveholding States will enter into the reconstructed Union with the same vested right of slaveholding as before. One such proclamation as that contained in the speech of the Secretary of the Interior, declaring that emancipation cannot and shall not be made the object of the war, but that the purpose of the government and people of the United States is to maintain to the full the vested rights of slaveholders under the Constitution, is enough to convince all Europe that the North are as thoroughly and unalterably slaveholding as the South, and that there is no more hope for humanity from the one than the other. It is difficult for us to conceive the indignation and disgust awakened by such revelations. It is just as if God had cut asunder the central tent of our government, as he disclosed the guilt of Israel to Joshua, and had revealed to a gazing world the garments, the household gods, the silver shekels, the golden wedges, of this accursed slaveholding idolatry piled there, and the whole military power of the government standing sentry over it. This is the accursed thing, on account of which God is justly angry against us, and on account of which the whole European world have a right to rebuke us. Sympathize yourselves with God and human rights, they justly say, before you call upon us to sympathize with you, because of this slaveholding rebellion. What is the rebellion of the whole South against your government, in comparison with your own rebellion against God, in still guaranteeing and maintaining the most terrible and cruel bondage the world ever saw, upon the necks of four million of human beings, held, you say, in slavery, by your own Constitution? Alas, my friends, what answer can be made? The rebels have trampled on our Constitution, our flag, our laws; have adopted another Constitution and government, and have set themselves out of the pale of every provision of law and justice, but that for traitors and for conquered territories; and yet, the very Constitution they have spurned and spit upon is still held up to shield their accursed institution. All Europe are gazing at us with astonishment for the past, and anxious expectation for the future, and what do they yet see? Only, thus far, a practical declaration that though rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, yet slavery is the most sacred possession and right of our constitutional existence, the last prerogative we are willing should be invaded or given up, that whatever becomes of our other institutions, slavery is not to be interfered with; that whatever else may be abrogated by this war—the Sabbath, the *habeas corpus*, our wealth, our boasted immunity from taxes—the right of slaveholding, the right of property in man, shall not be abrogated. Was ever such infatuation heard of? But worse still, ministers of the Gospel, expounders of the religion of Jesus, maintain this sacredness of slavery, and our obligations to abide by it, and to keep the accursed thing along with the shew bread of our piety on God's altar! And even now, when the fire of God's wrath is smoking, these walking libels on the Gospel of truth and love are seen groping among the ashes to rescue and restore this hideous abomination, as if the Jews of old had raked out from the half-roasted flesh of Achan their golden wedges to mould them into a god!

Now, by what argument can the demand of God, patriotism, humanity, and justice upon us be resisted or delayed? or what excuse can be given for not executing at once the proposed measure? What reason is there, what justification in our country, for continuing the unnecessary slaughter of this war, widening and deepening continually in its atrocities, when it is clear that the proposed blow, struck at the heart of the rebellion by the proclamation of freedom, would so speedily bring it to an end?

The country are all prepared to sustain the President in such action—they are looking and longing for it. If they are faithful, they will join in petitions and memorials. Our Churches must do this—ought, indeed, to take the lead in it—and the masses will follow. There should now be an uprising of our Churches and the ministry in a demand for justice to the enslaved, just such as there was for the protection of our flag and our Union, when the first cannon boomed against Sumter. A mere Union patriotism may be excused in the multitude, but the Christian patriotism should be a grander, higher, nobler thing. It should be the patriotism of liberty and the Union, a patriotism of benevolence and justice to the millions so long defrauded of their rights, the patriotism of obedience and glory to God, in breaking every yoke.

It is said the force of circumstances may be relied upon, the force of circumstances is sure to abolish slavery, the war has already struck its death-blow, and we need not trouble ourselves any more about it, only prosecute the war and reduce the rebellion, and afterwards slavery may take care of itself. God himself will take care of it. Stand still, and see the salvation of God!

Now, there are three great answers to this false, cowardly, and selfish reasoning. First, its intense selfishness, impiety, and disobedience against God, compared with the hypocrisy of pretending to rely upon him. It is such reliance as Saul pretended, when he disobeyed God in the object of the war, and yet claimed to have obeyed God in carrying on the war. He consulted with God's enemies, and the end was that he relied upon the witch of Endor, and was overthrown and ruined.

It is such reliance as the Jews pretended under Zedekiah, when that king and people obstinately refused at God's command to promulgate the edict of freedom, but said that God would deliver them from the Assyrians, and give them peace. And the false prophets promised them peace in their wickedness. But God gave them up to the sword, the pestilence, and the famine, and swept them, with all their professed pious reliance on the providence of God, from the whole land.

It is selfishness and complicity with crime, when we are commanded to renounce and abolish a sin, to say that the providence of God is sure to abolish it, without our taking any direct measures against it. Such reliance upon God is defiance of God, and provokes his indignation. He has commanded us to break every yoke, to take from the neck of the slave the foot of our governmental and national oppression, and with the power and the means now put at our disposal, to set the enslaved millions free. Now for us to answer, Let God take care of that! that is God's work, and we must not interfere with it, God will finish it, and we need only stand still and see his salvation—is just precisely the spirit of Cain, the murderer. Am I my brother's keeper? Let God take care of Abel. It is none of my work. I am to look out for the rebellion against myself, and to crush that. Abel is an after-thought. Let me establish my right of government first of all, and leave God to take care of his by force of circumstances.

Suppose that we should reason thus in regard to the Sabbath. Let God take care of the Sabbath; our business is to prosecute the war. Now, a proclamation has been issued commanding the observance of the Sabbath; but there is no more authority for such a proclamation than there is for a proclamation of liberty to the enslaved, nor is the keeping of the Sabbath God's object in this war, but the deliverance of the enslaved is; and the Sabbath was made for man, and would be as righteously used in drawing up the millions of slaves out of the hell of slavery, and striking off every fetter by military power, as it would in laying hold of an ox or a sheep that had fallen into a pit and pulling him out. But we are so pious, that we proclaim the keeping of the Sabbath by the army, but refuse to proclaim the deliverance of the enslaved. Let God take care of that. God's providence is sure to accomplish that. Why not say, Let God take care of the Sabbath. We need not trouble ourselves about that. God's providence and the force of circumstances will make sure of that. Our business is to fight and crush the rebellion.

But, second, it is a guilty and base cowardice to rely upon the force of circumstances, a destruction of all that is manly and noble in our character as individuals and as a nation. God put us here among circumstances, not to rely upon circumstances, but to conquer them and govern them. It is the trial of a man's character, whether he is a man or a mere beast, whether he will be guided by circumstances or will guide and govern them, whether he is a living or a dead fish, to float with the current or to swim against it. It is the trial of a nation's character, and we are no better than a dead sturgeon, if, when a mighty, magnificent moral question and opportunity are presented to us, such as does not occur once in a thousand years, to test and confirm our grandeur and our life, we indolently, treacherously, basely, reject the opportunity, and leave the question to be decided by the force of circumstances, pretending to rely upon the providence of God. We have no business to rely upon the providence of God, no right to rely upon the providence of God in such a case, or to call the force of circumstances, that are but temptations of Satan, before which we bow down and worship, the providence of God. We are bound to rely upon God, and not upon God's providences, and until we rely upon God, we are as blind as bats even in regard to the plainest of his providences, and in pretending to follow them, are more likely to follow Satan than God. No man, no nation, has a right, or possesses the faculty, to interpret God's providence, or to rely upon or follow the leadings of God's providence, who will not follow God, will not rely on God, will not obey God's Word. And so the force of circumstances will sooner abolish us than it will abolish slavery, if we refuse to obey God in refusing ourselves to abolish slavery, pretending to resign that, with hypocritical impiety, to God's providence. It has been a yielding to the force of circumstances that all along has proved our guilt and misery, and has plunged us deeper and deeper into the bottomless pit of slavery, out of which God now gives us, in his wonderful mercy, the opportunity to spring at a single blow, and to take, I had almost said, the destinies of mankind with us. For it is the regeneration of the race, in our own regeneration, that, in a measure, God puts at our command, giving us the power, by our example and action, to lift up all mankind to a higher plane, a purer sphere for humanity and God. As this diabolical Confederacy of Southern traders in human flesh have sunk humanity deeper towards hell, and gone down nationally in worse impiety towards God than any nation ever did, so we, springing to the opposite pole, setting our foot upon the neck and doctrine of this Confederacy, and by the very rebound of our energetic God-given impulse and stamp against it, have the opportunity and the power to raise ourselves and all humanity higher towards God than any nation has ever yet done. Oh with what anxiety are the powers of heaven and hell looking up and down upon this conflict! There are great clouds of witnesses. We are made a spectacle to angels, men, and devils. We may without hazard suppose that, from whatever sphere they inhabit, the long line of our fathers, the leaders of the revolution, the framers of the Constitution, the past master spirits of ages, Washington, Franklin, Madison, Jefferson, Hamilton, Jay, Wilberforce, Clarkson, Burke, Sharpe, are gazing with solemn and intense interest and questionings upon this mighty decision. Are the very mistakes of some of these noble patriots to be perpetuated and precipitated by us into crime, and shall they see us denying to mankind the opportunity God has now given us of carrying onward to its completion the work for mankind which they did but begin, and which God now invites us to perfect, invites us to salvation, even out of our experience of the guilt and ruin into which our pursuit of their failures had plunged us, an experience that we may now make, if we will, a new light-house for the world's virtue. The experiment for mankind is being decided, whether a nation like ours has the power of self-government in obedience to God, or must of necessity, the necessity of its own baseness, obey Satan and the force of circumstances, at the same time adding to the guilt of renouncing such an opportunity, and refusing such an offer of being God's priesthood of liberty to the world, the conservative hypocrisy of clothing itself about with the wrap-rascal of a pious expediency, under the pretence of leaving God uninterfered with to do his own work, standing still and seeing the salvation of God. So did Pharoah stand still and see the salvation of God in the plagues of Egypt. So did the cowardly and rebellious Hebrews stand still when God commanded them to go up and possess the land under Caleb and Moses, and they would not, but said, Let God do his own work, and God swore in his wrath that the carcasses of that whole generation should fall in the wilderness. There never was a more ungodly hypocrisy than that of this present cry of standing still and seeing the salvation of God. Why do you not do this in regard to your own war, in regard to the crushing of this rebellion? Why do you not stack your arms and prove your reliance upon God, and your unwillingness to intrude upon the ark of his providence or to intermeddle with the completion of his purposes by leaving it to his providence to finish what himself has begun? Is the rebellion against yourselves more important to be put down than the rebellion against God? If so, leave that also to God and to the force of circumstances, for if God can abolish slavery without your active coöperation, so he can reduce this rebellion without your aid. Recall your armies and keep your fasts, and make many prayers, and leave God to take care of the Southern Confederacy, and probably he will reward such eminent and conservative piety by the performance of some miracle, just as you expect his providence to abolish slavery, while you yourselves maintain a solemn guarantee for its perpetuity, and will not so much as clear the field for God's providence to act upon.

But third, What is the force of circumstances likely to do, in this conflict, if it is carried on without striking the grand national blow that God commands, for freedom! There are two suppositions; the first is, that we conquer; that in the great battles that may be before us, the armies of the Confederacy are utterly routed, and at length compelled to sue for peace. Now, in that case, which is the most favorable that can be put, what will be the terms of peace which we are beforehand solemnly pledged to grant, unless we have proclaimed liberty under a military necessity? The one prominent condition to which we are pledged is that of the continuance of slavery. We are pledged to it by the public solemn declarations of the President and his Cabinet, by reiterated assurances that slavery shall not be meddled with, by holding out as a promise to loyal slaveholders that their human properties shall be preserved to them, by our affirmations of the purpose of what is called the Republican party, never to interfere with the vested right of the slaveholding States in their peculiar institution, and our promises to guarantee that right, by our preservation and execution of the Fugitive Slave law for loyal States and masters, by our never repealing that law, but repealing our Personal Liberty bills because they were asserted to be in conflict with that law, and finally by the pro-slavery interpretation of the Constitution still adhered to, and made the basis of argument even by so-called Christian ministers and editors, that we are bound by oath and obligation to God under the Constitution to let slavery alone where it now is, and not only so, but to fulfil what are pretended to have been the constitutional guarantees in its behalf. Now remember, this supposition is the very one under which we are acting, namely that the war does not break nor set aside that pledge, and shall not be taken advantage of so to do, but that the pledge remains unbroken in full power, as it does, unless we disannul it. The supposition is that the advice of our conservatives who require us to leave slavery to the providence of God, but to crush the rebellion by prosecuting the war to the uttermost, and then afterwards by circumstances to be guided as to slavery, prevails. Now, suppose God gives us the victory on these terms, what remains? Does any man in his senses imagine that the abolition of slavery which was refused to be proposed even as a right of war, and as a means of ending the war, will be proposed as a condition of peace? Does any man imagine that the Confederates will voluntarily relinquish what the United States government and people themselves, even in the war, held sacred from attack? or that anything, in fact, will be gained by a peace which was not an object of the war? Never! If the war comes to an end with slavery as an acknowledged, protected and guaranteed institution, as such that institution will remain in the peace, with the additional advantage, prestige, and incredibly enlarged power of such continuance, such proof of vitality and impregnability as the law and religion of Southern society. What now becomes of the providence of God in that case? Why! our conservative doctors will then tell us, with pious gratitude to God for having brought us safely through this terrible rebellion, and reconstructed our Union for us, that we should be flying in the face of God's mercies if we any longer continued our opposition against this institution; that we are bound to leave the future of slavery to the good providence of God, that we must not run the hazard of another war by renewed agitation, that if God can afford to wait, so can we, that it is not God's custom to use violent or sudden remedies, and it ought not to be ours, that if it takes a hundred years for slavery to die, let it have a hundred years to die in; having administered the bolus of this war, its Constitution cannot stand such a shake, but will give way under the gospel of peace and love, if the preachers of that gospel will only consent to refrain from mentioning it for one century, and will preach Christ and Him crucified according to the Fugitive Slave bill and the constitution of the Tract Society.

But I refrain from pursuing this, and turn to the second supposition, which is, that we suffer another defeat, or succession of defeats, and find ourselves reduced to the necessity of a compromise, under those circumstances, yet the Confederacy not so entirely and absolutely triumphant, as to be enabled to impose terms upon us, but willing to come back into the Union, on condition that we will still give to slavery the right of supremacy which it has always had. What becomes of the providence of God and the forces of circumstances then?

In the face of what will be called necessity, who will dare oppose a compromise? Whither will the march of events have brought us, and what salvation of God shall we behold? Again we shall be taught that this is a just rebuke to our violent abolition agitation and effort, that we have presumed to put our hands to the Ark of God, when it was going on steadily, and the oxen of the force of circumstances would have carried it to its destination safely and in peace, and that now we must not and shall not be suffered to prevent a settlement of this question in a quiet way, that a torn and distracted country demands the peace, that a reconstruction of the Union on its former basis was all that we ever required, and that we ought to be thankful to God for granting the opportunity, and that every Abolitionist who endeavored to prevent such a settlement, or raised again the cry of abolition, ought to be hanged as a traitor.

But suppose that after one defeat, the President, thus driven to despair, resorts at length, as a necessity, to the measure of proclaiming liberty to all the inhabitants of the land. Will it then be availing or successful? Is there not danger that God may say nay, that God may conclude that he has some rights in this matter, and that a nation and a people that have so insolently set him at defiance, put themselves under absolute necessity of the last degree of chastisement, if not destruction, for his glory, for the avenging of his law and justice. Is there not danger that he may say, In the day when I called, ye refused, therefore I also will laugh at your calamity, and will mock when your fear cometh. Can we conceive of anything more offensive to God than the attitude boldly assumed, and the defence of it by ministers, Churches, religous teachers in Christian periodicals, that we are under no obligation whatever to liberate the slaves, or act the part of humanity towards them in this war, unless it be an imperious necessity of self-preservation, and then for our own sake, we will obey God; then, for our own sake, what we declared would be a very wrong thing as for him only, we will nevertheless do, as a right and pious thing for ourselves. Solemnly do we declare that never in any phase of Christian society on earth were doctrines uttered of greater insolence towards God, and intense selfishness and cruelty towards man. Take, as a favorable example and exposition of them, the following extract which I find presented from one of our religious journals.

"As yet the government has not had occasion to write upon its banners the magic words UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION. *Perhaps it will not.* Certainly not, if the rebellion can be put down without. But if it goes on long, as it now threatens, and waxes stronger and stronger, it will evidently be the government to this last alternative. If the time comes when the people shall have to choose whether the government shall be destroyed, or slavery shall be destroyed, they will not hesitate. When that day comes SLAVERY IS DOOMED."

No, gentlemen, but YOU are doomed. When that day comes, it may be TOO LATE. There is no such thing as a death-bed repentance and salvation for a nation. There are cases when God says, Ye have chosen your own ways, and I also will choose your delusions; and bring your fears upon you. And when your fear cometh as desolation, and your destruction as a whirlwind, then you may call upon me, but I will not answer. There are cases when God hath said, Though Moses and Samuel stood before me, yet my mind could not be towards this people. Cast them out of my sight and let them go forth. Though Noah, Daniel and Job were in the land, they shall deliver only their own souls by their righteousness. Do you think that God's law of humanity was only made to wait upon your selfishness? Standing there with your implacable heel upon these four million, out of whom you have almost crushed the very form of humanity, and waiting and calculating whether you may not with safety still continue this habit of imperious cruelty, resolved not to let your victims go except under God's own death-grapple upon you? Do you think when that death-grapple comes, and your convulsive utterance groans out, Lord release me, and I will let them go, that then, when God himself releases them, he will bring you back to life? Proud, selfish, hypocritical tyrant that you are, can you mock at God in this manner, and escape his justice?

The hand of God will be laid heavily in wrath upon us, if we dare, in the presence of all these signs, while Sinai with its thunderings and lightnings is quaking under the new giving forth of God's statutes, to promulgate slave law as ours instead of God's law. The defeat and rout at Bull Run were preceded by that military order from government that no more fugitives were to be received within our lines. Down came God's thunderbolt for that. And it would be a mercy if every time we refuse to take part with the oppressed against their oppressors, a new plague from God should be launched against us, as upon Pharaoh. It is Pharaoh's game that we are attempting to play in putting off Moses and God, and returning to our cruelties and our idols. We profess great regard for God when we proclaim our determination as a religious duty to put down the rebellion, but when it comes to the command, Let my people go, then we higgle, and shuffle, and bargain, and refuse. If we remain thus unwilling and afraid to obey God then this wretched, hesitating, calculating policy of favor to slaveholders, and a nervous anxiety not to offend the slaveholding portions of the border States, must paralyze our whole government, while still I dare not waits upon I would, and the prosperity, wealth, honor and blood of the country will be wantonly sacrificed in protracting a war, in which its conductors seem all the while striving to see just how near they can come to slavery without hitting it.

In God's name we demand that this dreadful shuffling with the destinies of our own country be ended. We demand that the war be conducted on God's principles. We demand that the utmost energy and resources of the country, with such prompt and noble patriotism offered to the Administration, be applied to bring the war to a triumphant close for freedom and humanity, righteousness and justice. We demand that the people and the government cease from the awful presumption of lengthening out this war and encouraging this rebellion, because they are unwilling to abolish slavery by it. If such unwillingness is made to rule in the Administration, then the greatest traitors that have yet appeared in our country against God would be those at